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EDITOR: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL COMMENTS, by Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D.

ARTICLES

- The Significance of Christ through the Ages, W. R. Matthews, K.C.V.O., D.D., D.Lit., S.T.D.
Scientific Thinking and Religious Experience, A. Graham Ikin, M.A., M.Sc.
The Doctrine of Creation, Henry Bett, M.A., Litt.D.
Thebes and Thebes, William F. Loftus, M.A., D.D.
The Relations between the Society of Friends and Early Methodism, John C. Bowmer, M.A., B.D.
The Four Quarters Re-visited, T. B. Shepherd, M.A., Ph.D.
The Modern Marxist, W. S. Handley Jones

ECUMENICAL SURVEY

- Methodism in the Religious Life of Australia, Alan Walker, M.A.
Methodism in South Africa, Leslie A. Howson, M.A.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

- A. E. Housman: His Outlook and Art, Robert Hamilton
New Light on Jeanism, Henry Hogarth, B.A.
Robert Louis Stevenson and Father Damien, Henry J. Cowell, F.R.S.J.
An Early Nineteenth-century Journal, Bernard Crosby

RECENT LITERATURE, Edited by C. Ryder Smith, B.A., D.D.

FROM MY NEW SHELF, C. Ryder Smith, B.A., D.D.

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Editor: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

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DEEDS—NOT WORDS!

To redress human wrong is a true knightly impulse. It was this impulse which led to the foundation of the National Children's Home 81 years ago, and it is still the inspiration of all its work.

Happily, the problem of children deprived of a normal home life is at last receiving the attention it deserves. But pity is not enough; something must be done to help these boys and girls—and somebody must do it.

The National Children's Home is playing its part, but it needs help—your help. Please be generous and send a gift to-day. Even the smallest contribution will be welcomed.

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Editorial Comments

THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

THE REPORT presented by the Commission on Communism to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, deprecates 'ill-considered and hasty action on the part of the Church' but does not shrink from facing the facts and making definite suggestions. The tide is rising more quickly than many people realize. Seven years ago about one-twelfth of mankind was dominated by some form of Communism. Today the proportion is one-third of the total population of the world. Nor is the strength of the movement to be measured by numerical returns alone. It grows most rapidly where social injustice is most marked. Its strategy, aimed at a classless society, involves and intends the ruthless liquidation of ideologies and institutions and, of course, individuals when they are in the way.

In its admirable summary the Commission declares: 'The answer to Communism and to the crying need of our time lies in a creative Christian fellowship which embraces the total life of man—personal, industrial, political, and cultural.'

The formation of that fellowship depends, we feel, in part on the way in which the situation is seen and described. If it be merely presented as a threat, many people, jaded by the experiences of the last ten years, will be inclined to dismiss it as exaggeration or propaganda. The Commission of the Church of Scotland has shown it as a splendid chance to launch a crusade. 'One thing is crystal clear,' it says, 'that blind and ill-informed negative opposition is futile and will not enable the Church to grasp one of the greatest opportunities it has had in its long history.' That, surely, is the virile approach, born of vision and of faith. It is, indeed, the only approach which commands respect and which will evoke a real response. To whine about approaching evil is not the way to raise an army fired by the Cause and confident in its resources.

'Communism cannot ultimately be stemmed and turned even by economic reconstruction much less by atomic warfare . . . but only by fortifying men's minds and hearts by a faith and a moral dynamic, such as Christ gives, which will bring deliverance alike from the ills which create Communism and from the evils which it perpetrates.'

The Report warns Christian people not to be satisfied by what it calls 'mere negative hostility', but to take 'positive action in relation to the very problems thrown into compelling prominence by that challenge'.

The next few weeks will give opportunity to other Churches, in their own idiom, to sound the same call—not to man the defences, but to pass over to attack.

One of the weaknesses of the present situation is that the majority of Christian people are ill-informed on the whole subject. The Trustees of the Beckly Trust are producing an excellent series of pamphlets¹ which are concerned with various aspects of Communism. The series is designed to give a comprehensive view of the nature of the present challenge and is intended for the general reader; it provides an adequate preface to the whole subject. The Church of Scotland is publishing a Bibliography, and a similar series of Papers for the People. Men can neither think, pray, nor act with conviction unless they have taken pains to understand, as far as they are able, the present situation.

¹ Published by The Epworth Press, 6d. each.

No. 1 *The Philosophy of Communism*, W. F. Lofthouse, M.A., D.D.

No. 2 *The Economics of Communism*, Edward Rogers, M.A., B.D.

No. 3 *How Soviet Rule Came to Russia*, Henry Carter, C.B.E.

No. 4 *Communism and Violence*, E. C. Urwin, M.A., B.D.

THE GOD THAT FAILED*

WHEN Ignazio Silone, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party, was talking recently to Togliatti he said, jokingly: 'The final struggle will be between the Communists and the ex-Communists.' Whilst the growth of Communism is alarming many people, it is true that the number of ex-Communists increases every day. In a symposium to which Arthur Koestler, André Gide, Richard Wright, Louis Fischer, Ignazio Silone, and Stephen Spender have contributed short autobiographical sketches, this fact is illustrated. The six studies in Communism were the outcome of a suggestion by Richard Crossman, M.P., and his Introduction is the most valuable part of what is in itself an important book.

In the course of an argument he had with Arthur Koestler, the author of *The Yogi and the Commissar*, he saw the possibility of a collection of autobiographies which might reveal 'the state of mind of the Communist convert, and the atmosphere of the period—from 1917 to 1939—when conversion was so common'. During the discussion, Koestler had said: 'It's the same with all you comfortable, insular, Anglo-Saxon anti-Communists. You hate our Cassandra cries and resent us as allies, but when all is said, we ex-Communists are the only people on your side who know what it's all about.'

The six men who, ultimately, shared in the writing of the book were intellectuals. At first they saw Communism as the Kingdom of God. Gradually they looked at the Communist State at close quarters, and were disillusioned. Each discovered, as Richard Crossman says, 'the gap between his own vision of God and the reality—and the conflict of conscience reached breaking point'.

Though their secession is encouraging, the fact that Communism won them, for a time, gives one pause. Was it that European democracy failed? Was it the nausea of appeasement? In the excellent introductory essay it is suggested that these men had lost faith in democracy and that their conversion to Communism was 'rooted in a despair of Western values'. That they were mistaken is only part of the story. Their passionate protest against Fascism came when so many people in several countries were prepared to temporize. To surrender their own personal freedom as the *only* way to destroy the evil proved to be wrong. As Richard Crossman says: 'Fascism was overcome without the surrender of civil liberties which Communism involves.' Their despair and loneliness, and the support of the Christian conscience laid them open to 'the emotional appeal of Communism' with its tremendous demands for sacrifices both material and spiritual. The account of the early acceptance and the later rejection by these fellow-travellers of the god that failed is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the values of Western democracy, and of Communism, as it is today.

PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY:
THE ENCOMIUM OF QUEEN EMMA*

THE MODERN world uses the word Christian as loosely as did the writers of Canute's England. On the continent of Europe Christianity is strangely mixed with politics and economics in public life, whilst in many individuals it becomes an amazing blend of superstition and sheer paganism. This is no new phe-

* Six Studies in Communism (Hamish Hamilton, 12s. 6d.).

* *Encomium Emmae Reginae*—Edited for the Royal Historical Society by Alistair Campbell—'Camden Third Series', Vol. LXXII.

nomenon, and men and women a thousand years ago were not unlike their descendants today.

The *Encomium Emme Regine* is a document which throws an important light on the characters in English and Scandinavian history in the eleventh century and is, in some ways, a commentary on our own times. The manuscript, written on sixty-seven vellum leaves during the reign of Hörthaknútr (Hardicanute), is now in the British Museum. The original text (1040-2) was copied accurately, on paper, by Robert Vaughan (1592-1667), and this valuable confirmatory duplicate is amongst the Hengwrt MSS. in the National Library of Wales. The Encomiast, as its anonymous writer has been called, was an inmate of the collegiate church of St. Omer, saw King Canute, and wrote at the command of Queen Emma. Scholars, everywhere, are indebted to Alistair Campbell for his critical analysis of the original document and for his invaluable Linguistic Notes and Glossary.

The Encomiast reveals Canute as an astute politician as well as warrior, and pictures Sweyn, his father, as a hero of the later Viking age. Though the *Encomium* is distinctly selective, since it was written by royal command, it is singularly unbiased in its account of the relationship existing between the English and the Danes. It is the earliest reliable authority on Scandinavian affairs, but is particularly interesting in its naïve references to the Christianity of the period. Whether its author was actually a monk or a secular cleric remains uncertain, but he was obviously anxious to present the chief characters as being Christian people! In describing the last hours of King Sweyn he says: 'Feeling that the dissolution of his body was threatening him, he summoned his son Knútr, whom he had with him, and said that he must enter on the way of all flesh. He exhorted him much concerning the government of the kingdom and the zealous practice of Christianity, and, thanks be to God, committed the royal sceptre to him, the most worthy of men.' The *Encomium*, as a whole, gives one some idea of what 'the zealous practices of Christianity' meant to the writer and his contemporaries.

It certainly blended diplomacy with religion. When Canute decided to marry he saw the political advantage of a marriage with Emma, daughter of Richard the First of Normandy, and widow of Æthelred. Living in Normandy during her widowhood, Canute 'had her fetched' in 1017, feeling that such a marriage might reconcile the English and the Danes, and by pleasing Richard of Normandy, turn him from a possible enemy into a friend! The Encomiast describes the situation as follows: 'When Knútr was opposed by the English, and vigorously using force was resisted by force, afterwards won many wars; and perhaps there would scarcely or never have been an end of the fighting if he had not at length secured by the Saviour's favouring grace (*faute gratia Saluatoris*) a matrimonial link with this most noble queen.'

The Manuscript reveals, in other places also, a somewhat quaint view of Providence. The Danes under Canute and the English under Eadmund had brought a long spell of fighting to an end. A treaty was concluded, and hostages were given and received, but it was an uneasy peace. The account continues: 'But yet God, who remembered His own ancient teaching, according to which a kingdom divided against itself cannot long stand, soon afterwards, pitying the realm of the English, took away Eadmund from the body, lest it should chance that if both survived neither could reign securely, and that the kingdom should continually be wasted by renewed conflict.' So, a desired 'liquidation' is comfortably effected! In order to tidy up the situation the writer adds: 'The dead prince, however, was buried in a royal tomb, and was wept

long and sorely by the native people; to him may God grant every joy in the heavenly kingdom. Soon after it became evident to what end God commanded that he should die, for the entire country then chose Knútr as its king, and voluntarily submitted itself and all that was in it to the man whom previously it had resisted with every effort.'—All very neatly arranged—for Canute, but scarcely for Eadmund, at any rate so far as his place in the political scene was concerned. Yet it is not very different from some apologias that have been offered recently for acts of violence in Europe.

Nor were even these chosen characters able to separate their 'Christianity' from current superstition and paganism. Saints' relics were sought eagerly by Queen Emma in what were evidently authenticated markets! She bought and gave to Canterbury an arm of St. Bartholomew, and when Hardicanute died, she presented the head of St. Valentine to the New Minster, Winchester, for the good of her dead son's soul. In 1043 she was robbed of the head of St. Ouen, but his body, which she had bought in Normandy, was already safely deposited in Canterbury.

The Norse ships, which played so great a part in the exploits of Sweyn and Canute were decorated in bow and stern, with pagan symbols. The great dragon-ships, with their thirty rowing-benches seating eight men each, swept into action, and the figure-head of Thor or Odin, carved and gilded, 'shone like fire'. It was as well that they were detachable, for sometimes they were discarded for a cross though it was not easy to throw overboard the traditions of past generations and the 'magic' banner with its raven had long flown from their ships.

In spite, however, of this hybrid 'Christianity' it would be unfair to say that Canute and Emma were lacking in sincerity. The King 'seemed to bishops to be a brother bishop for his maintenance of perfect religion; to monks also, not a secular, but a monk for the temperance of his life of most humble devotion. He diligently defended wards and widows, he supported orphans and strangers, he suppressed unjust laws and those who applied them, he exalted and cherished justice and equity, he built and dignified churches. . . . He gave his attention entirely to things pleasing to God. . . .'

It is strange to read the whole of the panegyric on this fierce leader of fierce warriors, whom we remember, today, chiefly as the powerful prince who tried in vain to stop the incoming tide! The Encomiast has given us a very different picture: 'Therefore,' he writes, 'let kings and princes learn to imitate the actions of this lord, who lowered himself to the depths that he might be able to climb to the heights, and who cheerfully gave earthly things in order to be able to obtain heavenly ones.' This reference to his generosity and to his penitential pilgrimage to Rome is but a prelude to a description of his Queen's religious life. Mourning the death of her husband she was appalled at the apparent apostasy of the 'usurper', Harald. 'She silently awaited the end of the matter, and for some little time was in her anxiety daily gaining God's help by prayer.' Somewhere, in spite of the raven banners and the doubtful relics, there was evidently a real experience. Surrounded by intrigue, her son Ælfred brutally murdered, she still kept her faith. In Flanders she presently found sanctuary. Ministering like a true Christian to the poor and needy, she won the hearts of the people by her generosity of heart and hand. Whenever an orphaned child was brought to baptism, she stood his sponsor. 'I do not know with what praises to exalt her, who never failed to be immediately present with those being reborn in Christ.' So the Encomiast brings his writing to an end, describing in his last paragraph her happy return from exile, with Hardicanute, her son.

One returns from this brief excursion into a bygone world astonished that so much good emerges. May it not be that in the turmoil and confusion of our own time, the heaven is still working? How quietly and unexpectedly and against what tremendous odds the kingdom comes in an individual or a nation!

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND WALES

THE STORY of David and Goliath is constantly recurring in the history of the human race. A Napoleon may cynically say that God fights on the side of the big battalions, but the statement is not supported by fact. One of the most striking examples is in the survival of the national consciousness of the Welsh people through the centuries. In his book *A History of Modern Wales*⁴ Professor David Williams of University College, Aberystwyth, makes it clear that many denationalizing influences have threatened the Welsh people with absorption, but that other forces have ensured their survival. In spite of the fact that they are a small pastoral people, and that they have been continually invaded not only by armed marauders but by the more dangerous land-grabber and profiteer, they remain proud and distinct.

The landed gentry, either English or aping the English, became a serious menace which eventually failed. The particularly low level of the Church of England, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a long succession of absentee bishops tended to lower the morale of the people generally. When the Industrial Revolution reached Wales its early course was dominated by Englishmen eager to exploit the situation, careless of its human content. The landlords failed and the peasant proprietors triumphed partly because the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century caught the imagination of the Welsh, where the Lutheran Reformation and the Puritan movement had left but little impression.

In a particularly interesting chapter on 'Religious Education and Revival', Professor Williams outlines the influence of Methodism on the development of the Welsh nation. Whilst it added a new denomination to Nonconformity, it strengthened the existing dissenting Churches, giving to them some of the new emotionalism. The older dissent regained its popularity and was saved from the rationalism toward which it had been moving. The gentry remained Anglican and the rift between them and the people grew wider. The hymns of William Williams began a revival of the Welsh language and literature. 'It may be said to have changed the tone of the nation both for the better and for the worse. The moral fibre of the people was stiffened, and they became more law abiding. But they lost that carefree joyousness which had found expression in the "interlude" and the "noson lawen".' Becoming over-concerned with the world to come they grew 'apathetic to the need for reform. Yet the Methodist insistence on uncompromising integrity of character, on honesty, temperance, industry, and thrift, together with their belief in the sanctity of the individual and the equality of all men before God, led in time to the rousing of the social conscience and the sweeping away of many abuses.'

The book is a useful contribution to the history of Wales and particularly valuable in stressing the factors which have, so far, preserved Welsh nationality amidst so many adverse circumstances.

⁴ Published by John Murray (12s. 6d.).

Articles

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRIST THROUGH THE AGES

TWENTY years ago the present writer contributed an essay to a composite volume entitled *The Future of Christianity*. The opening paragraph ran as follows:

The question, What think ye of Christ? is one which has presented itself to every age since the first century of our era. It is a question which presents itself with urgent force to us. On the answer which we give to it depends our judgement of the future of the world and of its spiritual destiny. The answer of the Church and of Christian experience as a whole is not doubtful. It is that Christ is the completely adequate revelation of the nature of God, himself one with God, the response of the Eternal to the world's need, worthy of the uttermost service and adoration, the rightful Lord of the universe. If we accept this view we shall be committed to the conclusion that the Christian religion is the final stage in the spiritual progress of man, that no further development of knowledge or insight will take us beyond Christ. We need not indeed hold that any extant form of Christianity is the definitive and unimprovable expression of our religion. Probably it may seem more reasonable to us to believe that there is yet more light and truth to be apprehended and that progress is still possible, but we shall be convinced that our progress will be toward a more adequate comprehension of the meaning of Christ, not away from him. On the other hand, we may see in Christ only one of the spiritual leaders of mankind, one whose truth was mingled with error and who spoke with power only to some generations of men, one to be superseded like other teachers. In that case we shall naturally regard Christianity as but a passing phase in the intellectual and moral history of mankind and shall look forward to the emergence of a religion, or at least a view of the world and of life, more rational and more satisfying than the religion whose centre is Jesus.

These words need no modification as a statement of the issue which we have to discuss. The intervening years have illustrated and enforced some of the points. The swift change of scene which has accompanied and followed the Second World War has placed the question, What think ye of Christ? in a somewhat new setting. Certainly the urgency of the challenge has grown more poignant in twenty years. When one of the great powers has an official philosophy which rejects all belief in God, and Marxian materialism is a missionary superstition, the problem of Christ and what he means to the world cannot be evaded. Nor again have the thought and scholarship of Christians been stagnant. Notable contributions have been made to the study of the Gospels and to the doctrine of the Incarnation, the two latest coming from the University of St. Andrews in Dr. Duncan's *Jesus, Son of Man* and Dr. D. M. Baillie's *God was in Christ*. On the whole, the movement of Christian thought during the period has been in the direction of a return to orthodoxy. Writing twenty years ago, one felt the primary need to be a presentation of the essence of the Christian faith in Jesus in such a way as to enlist the interest of those who in general assumed that the tradition was probably wrong. Today there is a need to persuade some Christians that the traditional presentation of the Person of Christ is not enough—that it needs at least to be thought out again.

When the ancient undivided Church settled, after long and painful controversy, the classical statement of the doctrine of the Incarnation, it declared that the One Lord Jesus Christ in whom Christians believed was 'God from God, Light from Light, true God from God, of one substance with the Father'. It declared, too, that He was perfect (or complete) God and perfect (or complete) man, being one person uniting in Himself two natures, divine and human, which nevertheless were not confused or mixed together. This elaborate doctrine, which is admirably summarized for the ordinary man in the so-called Athanasian Creed, was not, as is occasionally alleged, the outcome of a speculative impulse which delighted in theological subtlety for its own sake; on the contrary, those who took part in the definitions of doctrine believed that they were drawing out the meaning of the New Testament, formulating the unbroken tradition of the Church's faith and worship, and guarding the Gospel against misinterpretations which would deprive it of its power.

It must be confessed that anyone who reads the Synoptic Gospels and then straightway turns to the majestic phrases of the Nicene Creed is likely to feel a discrepancy. It is not so much perhaps that the Figure which emerges from the first three Gospels is logically incompatible with the theology of the Incarnation as that the ideas employed in that theology would not have suggested themselves to us as a result of our reading these narratives. The Gospels and the Creeds move, it seems, in different worlds of thought and feeling. There is nothing surprising in this, for it is a familiar fact that the theoretical or 'scientific' explanation or interpretation of an experience is very different from the lived experience.

The modern man who is acquainted with the outlines of historical criticism has, however, a further difficulty. Over and above the discrepancy which lies on the surface between Gospels and Creed there is a much more important one which was unknown to the early fathers. They were content to accept the statements of the New Testament without serious question. Though, of course, any intelligent person must be aware of the very serious differences between the Gospel of John and the other Gospels, the early fathers (who were also, for the most part, intelligent) were convinced that the Gospels were inspired and, therefore, authoritative. Today the situation is radically different. No scholar would assume that the Fourth Gospel is a first-rate historical source for the life of Jesus without argument. Few today would venture to draw from it material for a picture of the real Jesus except with great reserve. The critical approach to the New Testament has led some scholars to hold that we know practically nothing of the life and purposes of Jesus. Though the theory that Jesus never existed as an historical person—the myth theory of the origin of Christianity—has now few supporters, there are many authorities who maintain that the biography of Jesus is beyond the possibility of reconstruction and that the Gospels are so deeply impregnated with dogma that the real Person who lies beyond them is now undiscoverable. The most recent development of Gospel research—Form Criticism—which claims to get behind the written sources of the Gospels and to show how they developed, has not added to our confidence in the tradition. Form Criticism suggests that many of the stories in the Gospels may have been the creation of the Christian community, or at least may have been moulded and modified by the community to meet its needs.

Candour compels us to own that the confident assertions which we sometimes hear, that criticism has established the reliability of the Gospels, need considerable qualification. Professor R. H. Lightfoot ends his book *History and Interpretation in the Gospels* with the words: 'It seems that the form of the earthly no less than of the heavenly Christ is for the most part hidden from us. For all the inestimable value of the Gospels, they yield us little more than a whisper of His voice; we trace in them but the outskirts of His ways.'¹ It is one of the curiosities of modern theology that some theologians who take this agnostic view of the Gospel history adopt an orthodox position with regard to the doctrine of the person of Christ.

To the unsophisticated intelligence, however, it must appear plain that there is little purpose in believing that God was incarnate in a particular historical person if, at the same time, we have to admit that we know practically nothing about that person. And we may go farther and add that the plain man would find it very difficult to believe in the Incarnation if there was no ground in the consciousness of Jesus for that belief.

The opinion represented by the quotation from Professor Lightfoot appears to be unduly sceptical. Though the extremest critics will not admit it, there is excellent ground for accepting the very early tradition that the Gospel of Mark represents, in the main, the teaching of Peter, and there is equally sound reason for thinking that the source behind Matthew and Luke (the so-called 'Q' source) is very early. The theories which suggest that a large part of the material in the Gospels is the creation of the community, or the product of 'folk memory', do not sufficiently take account of the fact that the original disciples were not massacred at the crucifixion. They lived on, and their memories of Jesus must have controlled and restrained the growth of legend. But, in the end, the most decisive consideration is one which requires no apparatus of scholarship. Does the reading of the first three Gospels produce upon the mind the impression of a unique personality? Do we, in fact, through the records come to know Jesus? There can be little doubt of the answer. When we eliminate the confusion which is caused by including memories of the Fourth Gospel and confine ourselves to the Synoptics, though there still remain inconsistencies and obscurities, there comes through to us the sound of an individual voice. We feel sure that this person was not the creation of the community. He is authentic reality.

We may believe then that we have enough evidence to enable us to form a well-grounded judgement on what Jesus purposed and what he conceived his mission to be. The purpose and the mission were closely related to the Kingdom of God. The outset of the preaching of Jesus is not an assertion about himself but an announcement concerning the Kingdom—that it has drawn near. Nevertheless it soon appears that Jesus has a special position with regard to the Kingdom. He either brings it in or is closely associated with its coming. The Gospels tell us that he adopted the title 'Son of Man' and, though the point is not free from difficulty, we can best explain the facts by supposing that Jesus accepted the title as descriptive of his function both while on earth and in the glorious future Kingdom.

There can be no doubt that, in the teaching of Jesus, the Kingdom of God has

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 225.

very little analogy with the modern humanistic conception of progress. In the Gospels the Kingdom is supernatural and 'other-worldly'. It is brought in by God in his own time and the duty of men with regard to it is not, as we sometimes arrogantly say, to 'bring it in' or 'build Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land', but to prepare themselves to receive it. In the New Testament the Kingdom of God and Eternal Life, which is almost a synonym for the Kingdom, are neither possessed by man as a natural endowment, nor can they be achieved by man; they are given—the gift of God. Thus the thought of Jesus centres upon a concept which is essentially theological—the expectation of a divine act. And his own role in the Kingdom is not that of a human leader or founder; rather he is the point of action by the divine power upon the world.

The early Church identified Jesus with the figure of the Messiah, which had played an important part in some of the Hebrew prophecies, and it seems probable that Jesus himself conceived his mission under this category. The fact that there were several different pictures of the Messiah current at the time when Jesus appeared makes it difficult to be sure in what sense he understood the title, but his choice of the name Son of Man indicates that he probably was influenced by the *Book of Enoch*, which presents a definitely supernatural conception of the Messiah. There can be no doubt that Jesus profoundly transformed the current ideas of both Kingdom and Messiah, and he appears to have been deeply affected by two passages in the Old Testament, or rather perhaps by two strains of experience in the religion of the Old Testament which find their highest expression in notable passages. The conception of the Kingdom was transformed by the application of Jeremiah's prophecy of the 'New Covenant', the spiritual Covenant which was to supersede the old covenant between God and his people written on tables of stone.² The conception of the Messiah was transformed by the application of the prophecies in Isaiah which depict the Suffering Servant of Jehovah and sketch with moving eloquence the power of vicarious suffering.³

The Messiah idea is not perhaps entirely alien to our circle of ideas, but it has for us a certain repellent quality, because of our recent experience of the havoc which can be wrought by messianic pretensions when they override reason and conscience. For us then the messianic consciousness is not enough. We need to find, if we can, some deeper ground for the uniqueness which Christian tradition has found in Jesus—one which is less conditioned by the circumstances of time and place. Christian theology has dwelt upon the sinlessness of Jesus, and certainly it is remarkable that the Gospels record no saying of Jesus that indicates any feeling of the need for repentance on his part. The description of the Apostolic writer, 'in all points tempted like as we are yet without sin', accurately sums up the impression left by the Gospels. It is better, however, to dwell upon the positive characteristic of 'filial consciousness' rather than on the negative one of sinlessness. The person who is manifested in the Gospels is one who has an uninterrupted communion with the Father—broken only at the moment of the dreadful cry from the Cross. This filial consciousness could, of course, have been imposed upon the facts by the authors of the Gospels, or by the tradition which they recorded, but I think anyone who reads

² Jeremiah 31³¹⁻⁴.

³ cf. especially Isaiah 53.

the texts with an open mind will be convinced that the portrait is authentic. It could not have been the product of consciousness or unconscious imagination.

That Jesus 'spoke with authority' was the verdict of the crowd that heard him and this note of authority has been dominant in Christian tradition from the first. The Prophets had spoken with authority, too—a direct word of God, as they believed; but the teaching of Jesus surpasses the prophetic authority. The Sermon on the Mount is the occasion of the giving of the New Law, which fulfils and supersedes the law of Sinai. It is not a system of ethics; it is a series of divine commands. Nor may we omit to notice the claim which Jesus makes to the whole-hearted devotion of those who would be his disciples. The status of the disciple in the Kingdom of God depends upon his relation with Jesus.

Space forbids us to follow this line of thought in detail and we must be content simply to refer to a most important aspect of the life and words of Jesus. The Church of the Apostles believed that the death of Jesus had a special significance—that it had the virtue of an atoning sacrifice for the sin of the world. The question arises whether this belief, which is central for historical Christianity, has a basis in the purpose of Jesus. It must be recognized that the developed language and imagery of the doctrine of the Atonement is not to be found in the words of Jesus as recorded by the Synoptic Gospels. Nevertheless the essential idea is there. The bearing of the Cross was, in the belief of Jesus, the necessary prelude to the coming of the Kingdom. Though he was Messiah, nay, because he was Messiah, he had to be also the Suffering Servant, who bears the sins of many and heals many by his stripes.

One historical fact concerning Christianity is certain—that without the belief in the resurrection of Christ there would have been no Christian religion and, therefore, no Christian faith. The New Testament, even when it is dealing with the earthly life of Jesus or with severely practical affairs such as the raising of a collection for impoverished Christians in Jerusalem, is a book about the resurrection. None of it would have been written but for the fact that the writers were firmly convinced that Jesus had risen from the dead. When St. Paul wrote, 'If Christ hath not been raised then is our preaching vain, your faith also in vain', he was expressing the view of all the New Testament writers. The situation has not changed in this respect since the first century. The belief in the resurrection of Christ is the essential dogma without which the other doctrines of Christianity lack plausibility, and it may therefore be doubted whether Christianity, in any form but a vague idealism, would persist for very long if once the resurrection had been abandoned.

The discussion of the evidence for the resurrection of Christ has filled many volumes and we cannot attempt to summarize it here, still less to argue the problem of its value. We may, however, draw attention to some aspects of the New Testament witness which are sometimes overlooked by the reader. The primary evidence comes, not from the Gospels, but from the letters of St. Paul. He was converted within a year or two of the crucifixion and tells us that his Gospel, in its foundation assertions, was not changed when he wrote his great Epistles from what he had 'received' when he became a Christian. Quite certainly that Gospel included the resurrection as its dominant affirmation. There are some critics who hold that 1 Corinthians 15 is a late insertion and not

the work of St. Paul. They have, however, little reason to support their conjecture except that the passage harmonizes very badly with their preconceived notion of the development of Christianity. If we take the passage to be genuine, we have what is obviously a very early list of appearances of the Risen Lord. It should be noticed that the 'empty tomb' plays no part in the appearances given by St. Paul, but is most important according to the opinion of those who wrote the Gospels.

There can be no question that the tradition about the resurrection has undergone development, and it cannot be proved that the earliest form of the belief included the resurrection of the body of the Lord, though it seems most probable that it did. Though it would be rash to suppose that the narratives of appearances of the risen Christ in the Gospels are free from legendary elements, there is abundant reason for believing that the conviction of the truth of the resurrection grew up because there were experiences, of the kind described by St. Paul, both individual and collective. These appearances were confined to the circle of disciples, though the case of St. Paul reminds us that there could be exceptions to this rule. The resurrection was much more than the continuing existence of the person Jesus of Nazareth. In the faith of the primitive Christian community is signified a triumph over death and evil and the exaltation of the Master to the 'right hand of God'.

The credibility of the resurrection faith will be judged by every man largely according to his presuppositions. One who does not believe in God will naturally conceive it to be impossible, but those whose philosophy does not preclude them from examining the evidence will at least admit that there is evidence such as does not exist for any other alleged 'supernatural' event and they will recognize that the evidence has not ceased with the end of the apostolic age. The continuing experience of the Christian Church, and of individual Christians, that Christ is with them is the standing and ever-renewed ground for confidence in the resurrection faith.

It is beyond doubt that belief in the resurrection is the starting-point of the development of the Christian faith. Without it there would have been no separation from Judaism and there would have been no problem of the Person of Christ. Only in the assurance of the resurrection could the early Church have represented the Crucified as the Messiah.

There is a problem of the Person of Jesus. Of course, if we could convince ourselves that all the records are legendary or fictitious and that we know nothing about Jesus of Nazareth, there would be no problem, because there would be no data, but if we find such scepticism strains our credulity and feel the impossibility of supposing that the Man of the Synoptic Gospels is a figment, a shade cast by the religious imagination, and therefore recognize that here we have the echo of reality, the problem exists for us. There have been many attempts to show that Jesus was a simple teacher of exalted morality and piety and that everything else which the Church has found in him has been due to the misunderstandings of his followers. The plain fact is that there is no evidence for the existence of such a person. All the evidence we have points to one who thought of himself as something quite different from a teacher of righteousness, or even a prophet. He is identified in some way with the Kingdom or rule of God which, in his thought, is a thoroughly supernatural

concept. Jesus believed that his coming into the world was a decisive event in the providential ordering of history, that he was the promised Messiah, the Son of Man who inaugurates the final reign of God.

No one is likely to deny that all this constitutes a problem for the modern thinker. How are we to interpret these claims and experiences? The simple dilemma which satisfied our forefathers 'either God or not a good man' does not satisfy us—we can see other alternatives. But we must observe that the person of Christ is not a modern problem, though it has modern forms. It has always been a problem. It began to be a problem while the disciples walked with him in Galilee and it has never ceased to be one. The development of Christian theology, the growth of dogma, is due to the need to grapple with this problem.

In the New Testament writings we have the record of that creative experience which is the essence of the Christian religion—the experience of God in Christ. The most subtle of all the ways of misunderstanding the Bible is to take it as a book of theology. It is far more than that. It contains the reality of which theology may be the inadequate shadow: the expression in words of a continuous experience. Theologians have tended to distort the witness of the New Testament by seeking in it a theology, consistent and self-conscious, which is not actually there. There is no logically consistent doctrine of the Person of Christ in the New Testament, but there is a consistency of experience and of attitude. The writers of the New Testament employ diverse categories, or metaphors, but they are all trying to say the same thing. They are like men searching among the available ideas and images for those which will express what Christ means to them.

During the Apostolic age there was a development of teaching about Christ. The doctrine of St. Paul and St. John is more profound, is 'higher', than the teaching of the early speeches in Acts, which may be supposed to reproduce the most primitive form of Christian preaching. But the development is a true development—it grows out of elements which were present from the beginning of the Gospel. The spiritual attitude of the earliest Christian preachers to Christ is one of trust and adoration. The Christian doctrine of the person of Christ was felt and experienced before it was formulated in thought.

There have been theories of the origins of Christianity which have laid upon St. Paul the responsibility for introducing a Christ-centred mysticism into the Church. Such theories would attribute the characteristic form of Christianity to the Apostle of the Gentiles. No one could doubt the enormous importance of St. Paul in the development of Christian teaching, but it is significant that there is no trace of any opposition to his doctrine of the person and work of Christ. We hear of no condemnation by the older disciples of his Gospel as it related to the significance of Christ. A rapid summary of what St. Paul says about Jesus Christ is bound to be misleading. To get a true impression one must read through all the Epistles and observe how every sentence is charged with faith in Christ. The theology is struck out, as it were, in the heat of practical life and the life of prayer. Nevertheless, we can bring together some of the salient features of his faith. The redemption of salvation of men, which had been a theme of Old Testament prophecy, is brought about by Christ. He is the centre of the religious life of the Church and of the individual; to be 'in Christ' is the highest spiritual condition; Jesus Christ is the originator of a new race, the

second Adam in 'whom all shall be made alive'. St. Paul does not hesitate to give a 'cosmic' interpretation of the significance of Christ. He is the image of the unseen God, the first-born of creation, through whom all things were created. Unless the Epistles are interpolated in a most unlikely manner, St. Paul held that Christ pre-existed creation and that he was a divine being.

Though St. Paul's influence in the development of doctrine is very notable, it must not be forgotten that we have in the New Testament two other types of teaching about Christ—that of the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of the writings attributed to St. John. Though the authors of these books were probably acquainted with the teaching of St. Paul, they do not simply reproduce his ideas. They represent different approaches to the problem of the Person of Christ. That of 'St. John' is, of course, of quite transcendent moment, for it introduces into Christian theology a conception derived from Greek philosophy. Jesus Christ is identified with the divine Logos, or reason, which was with God from the beginning.

The presentations of the doctrine of the Christ which we find in the New Testament writings differ and are not always easily reconciled with one another, but the spiritual experience which they are trying to communicate is essentially the same. 'These great Apostolic documents of our religion are not the sudden and unprepared productions of men of "religious genius" who imposed their new conceptions on a community to which they were strange, but they come, as the Acts would tell us, out of a brotherhood whose religious life was already centred on Jesus, not as innovations but as explanations.'⁴

The New Testament is the record of that creative religious experience out of which the Christian faith came and, quite evidently, the heart of that experience is the Person of Jesus Christ. The answer of devotion to the question, What think ye of Christ? is plain enough and that might have been sufficient had the Church been able to remain on the level of mystical apprehension; but in fact this did not happen. The intellectual problems could not be kept out of sight. And there were some exceedingly awkward problems which the New Testament leaves unsolved. Two great questions force themselves on our notice, even as we read St. Paul and St. John. Jesus Christ is a divine being, the object of worship; but how is this to be reconciled with the fundamental dogma which Christianity inherited from the Old Testament, that there is only one God? Again, the figure of Jesus in the New Testament is definitely human and subjected to most of the limitations of human existence; at the same time, He is, as we have seen, regarded as divine. How then are these two elements or aspects of His being to be related to one another?

W. R. MATTHEWS

(To be continued)

⁴ Quoted from my essay in *The Future of Christianity*, p. 103.

SCIENTIFIC THINKING AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

SOME time ago I was travelling through a long tunnel when a waiter approached me, bowed deferentially and said: 'Will you have plain cake or currant cake, madam?' I thought of Aladdin's lamp and that not all the wealth of Eastern imagination could have conjured up anything more wonderful than being offered the choice of plain cake or currant cake in a small room, beautifully upholstered, well warmed and lighted, travelling at a great speed right under a mountain. Yet this had become such a commonplace of everyday activity that it was taken for granted.

The possibility of such a marvellous happening was the result of much co-operation, involving the pooling of knowledge in many inter-related subjects as well as its practical application by engineers and workmen, as well as railway officials, not to mention confectioners and salesmen.

If the Church's Ministry of Healing is to reach the same pitch of effectiveness it too will require the pooling of knowledge in many overlapping spheres. It will also need the practical application of this corporate wisdom by both clergy and doctors, and the reinforcement of their efforts by the large army of workmen called the general public. We must also include the co-operation of publishers and booksellers to spread the knowledge so sorely needed as well as that of research workers of all kinds who are extending our knowledge of disease and devising methods of prevention as well as cure, in proportion as they discover the laws expressing the behaviour of invading enemies such as disease germs, and the laws controlling our resistance to disease.

Amongst the research work most directly relevant to the part played by religion in health is the work of the medical psychologist, who investigates the behaviour of our own minds and the effect of mental activities on bodily efficiency. The implications of medical psychology are the concern of both doctors and clergy, as well as all who are responsible for the care of the sick in mind and body. The principles involved are very far reaching and of great importance if we are to learn how to *prevent* as well as cure disease.

Mutual understanding and co-operation between those concerned with spiritual healing from the religious side and those concerned with it from the medical side is of the utmost importance.

The whole of our everyday life is permeated with the products of scientific thinking. If all scientific thinking was suddenly removed we should not only be unable to live the *good* life, but we should be unable to live *any* life at all. I read a novel some time ago in which the collapse of civilization was pictured, when some rapid intra-atomic dissolution of metals took place, and all the iron, steel, or other metal machinery broke down. In a few weeks only a few hordes of savages, reduced to cannibalism to live at all, were left of our modern world, except for a few scientists who, like Noah of old, had seen what was coming and prepared a modern ark, stored with food enough to last twelve months; while they strove to use their scientific thinking to produce a substitute

metal that would not rot, in the hope of saving a fraction of mankind to carry life forward. (Since then the discovery of the atomic bomb has brought this flight of imagination into the realm of tragic possibility.)

This brought home very forcibly how dependent we now are upon this comparatively recently developed capacity of man to think scientifically. Wherein does it differ from another, much older capacity, which we call religious experience? And what part does religious experience play in a world so dependent upon scientific thinking? Is it to be outgrown as childish and infantile, to be transcended by scientific thinking? Some scientists would have us think so. But one thing is sure—that scientific thinking makes it impossible to rest content with a superstitious and infantile religion. Religious experience, which so far as we know, is as early as man himself, has developed through many strange and often ugly and repelling forms. It bears the marks of its history within it, and the science that condemns its superstitions and childishness should challenge us to grow up religiously as well as scientifically.

The fact that the products of scientific thinking (which are essential to our existence under modern conditions) can be used for the common good, or turned against one section of the community by another in war, civil or international, seems to indicate also that something *more* than scientific thinking is necessary if we are to continue to live at all. May it not be that it is the weakness, superstition, and childishness of our religion, that makes war possible, and rouses anxiety lest world war should again become inevitable? May the hope of averting disaster depend upon our ability to purge our religion of its childishness and to grow toward the maturity of religious response to Reality expressed in the life of Christ?

If so, if the challenge is to grow up religiously as well as scientifically, in order to avoid the actual developments of science in the hands of men and women, destroying through modern warfare the civilization that has been produced by it, can we use scientific thinking to clarify and purify our religious experience?

Psychotherapy, which means the healing of the mind, is bringing many of the Gospel miracles within the realm of present experience. The application of some of the psychological principles (discovered through the practical therapeutic work in curing patients) within the sphere of the mental health of the community and the effect of this on both physique and culture, the attitude toward crime, delinquency, and other forms of misconduct, together with insight into aids and hindrances in the realm of prayer, are a rich indication of the value of scientific thinking in deepening our religious experience and enabling it to bring forth fruit in the everyday world in which we live.

Before going into this application in detail, however, it is necessary to go back to a question raised near the beginning, namely, what is the difference between scientific thinking and religious experience? And how can each play its part in the communal life of mankind?

But there is one difficulty which must first be considered. If, as some scientists have held, science leaves no room for the reality of God, then all religious experience and any attempt to interpret history in the light of the unfolding of a Divine purpose is illusory. Religious experience on this view is a flight from reality and not a closer approximation to it. So let us first see what evidence we can find apart from religious experience itself, which makes

another interpretation possible and which will allow for the reality of God and therefore for conceptions and *misconceptions* of this Reality.

The question at some stage in the life of every genuine scientific thinker becomes a very real one; not just a matter of academic interest, but a life-and-death struggle within himself. Has the pursuit of Truth, which has illumined so much of his way and led him to realize its ultimate and absolute value, led him to where he must discard his religion? A genuine agnosticism, as Professor Malinowski has pointed out, is a tragic and shattering state of mind, and those who have not had to face the issue have no right to find fault with those who have been unable to find a way of reconciling their scientific and religious activities.

What follows now was written at a time when I was struggling with the problem myself, and so because it was written in response to the challenge of *life*, and not merely from an academic or intellectual point of view, it may be helpful to others.

'The inability to distinguish between the product of our imagination and reality, which marks the *infancy* of the individual and of the race, is at the root of many of our troubles; yet without the right use of imagination our mental and moral development is atrophied and contact with reality is lost.

'The great question is: Is the universe with God at its heart the real world? Does Reality honour our cheques on God, so to speak, or is it only the phantasy construction of the human mind, and the real world therefore one in which all response to the apparent call of God is illusory?

'The question is torturing many people today who have dabbled in modern psychology without going deep enough into it to get through the chaos and confusion of our unconscious minds to the fundamental reality in which they are grounded.

'With regard to whether a godless universe is the real one or the fantastic one, if we face the possibility squarely we find that if the godless universe were real, so much else that is valued and trusted is falsified that in the end reason itself is suspect and there is no court of appeal left. As I look round my room now I see signs of real co-ordination and co-operation instanced by my gas fire, my electric light, some Japanese prints which I love for their beauty, which had involved colour-printing in Japan and shipping and transport to England. So that it is evident that there is some intelligence available; not to speak of my own in attempting to tackle the problem!

'The godless universe, which carried to its logical conclusion denies the reality of the intelligence by which it has been postulated, would therefore seem to be the fantastic one, since reality is not as insane and incoherent as all that.

'The result of intelligent, purposive, and co-operative activity on the part of *almost the whole world*, actually expressed in my room, which includes not only Japanese workmanship, but towels from Cyprus, prints from Egypt and India, chocolate from the cocoa plantations, as well as home products such as gas and electricity, and many others in furniture, hangings, and carpets, seem to imply that *Reality responds to the intelligence and goodwill of men* (the goodwill is instanced by the co-operation necessary for such a collection of international products of pooled intelligence): that is to say *Reason seems to be at the heart of Reality, which I suppose is what we mean by God.*

'Our sanity too seems to depend upon the reality of God. In pushing logically to its limits the godless universe, we can find no means of knowing whether we really exist or not. God, the world, and ourselves seem either all to come to pieces together, with no cohesion or reality, an appalling phantasmagoria of futility: or with the return of reason, our real selves find themselves in a real world, depending upon the reality of God, *in the sense of orderly purposive controlling intelligence.*

'The words of the late King George the Fifth's broadcast at Christmas 1933 came into my mind as relevant here. "Unshakeable sanity, invincible patience, and tireless goodwill were", he said, "the foundation for seeing us through the difficulties ahead." And in that, wherever it might appear, we find the reality of God. It is a short step then to seeing *that*, embodied in Christ on Calvary. For there was a sanity that no outward circumstance broke, a patience that saw it through, and a tireless goodwill that forgave His crucifiers, pardoned the penitent thief and provided for His mother. These things were real, whatever the result, whether Calvary was the end or no. And this brings the realization that the reality of Jesus of Nazareth guarantees the reality of human personality. If He is real, distinct from us, yet one with us, we can never be pantheistically absorbed in God. The reason, patience, and goodwill embodied or incarnate in Him, were incarnate in a real historical person. It was not just universal mind, but the mind of Jesus. Thus in some odd way He seems to guarantee God and Man, or both dissolve into phantasy; which seems to make Christ central to our world in some unique way.'

We have faced the possibility of religious experience being illusory and found some grounds for believing the universe is not only fundamentally rational, but also good. The response to co-operation throughout the world to bring together the products of pooled human intelligence within my room was used to illustrate this. The destructive effects of illwill in modern warfare illustrates the same point. We co-operate up to a point in killing each other: and vanquished and victor alike suffer. If we could co-operate whole-heartedly throughout the world *without fear of each other*, we could see to it that no one starved; and if we combined to fight disease, then disease too could be eliminated. It is the ability to love our neighbour as ourselves that we lack, though this is very largely the result of our unwillingness to face the 'evil', irrational, or shadow side of ourselves, which we then project on to our neighbour and fight as external, instead of coming to grips with our own inner problems.

Perhaps we can now get clear what is the difference between scientific thinking and religious experience.

Suppose for a moment we had achieved the miracle of universal goodwill. Suppose throughout the world all men everywhere desired the good of their fellows and were prepared to work and suffer to achieve it, as the best men and women do now. Would that desire, in harmony with the mind of God, who has no favourites, be sufficient to clothe and educate the human race? Would a world that genuinely put personal values highest, a world on a religious basis, be able to dispense with 'scientific thinking' in its attempt to build the Kingdom of God on earth?

The earlier part of this lecture indicates that the answer to this will be

'No'. We cannot simply pray 'Let there be light' in the dark hours, where light may make all the difference in a difficult childbirth, for example. But as a result of many men humbly striving to discover how things actually work in God's universe, we can by the turn of a switch, flood a room with light.

So throughout life under material conditions we need the kind of knowledge that comes from scientific thinking, which seeks to discover how things behave, and which learns to control the forces or energies we find in nature by understanding. But the attempt to be exact in scientific thinking introduces a definite limitation. If we knew everything about any one thing, we should also know something about everything else, as Tennyson pointed out with his 'flower in a crannied nook'. Since we cannot start by this we take certain aspects of any object or phenomenon we wish to understand *and for the time being ignore other aspects*. The different natural sciences are the products of extensive knowledge of particular aspects of the universe. These aspects are never found separately in reality, but each of them is found *concurrently* throughout a whole section of experience. Chemistry and physics, for example, both deal with the material universe, though with different aspects of it. The trouble comes when scientists forget they have taken great trouble to isolate some particular aspect in order to investigate its nature. If because they can explain phenomena within the competence of their abstraction without life, consciousness, or God, they then say that life, consciousness, and God have no real existence, they go beyond their chosen subject matter.

Consciousness in particular, as well as life and God, is mentioned here, because one school of modern psychology, that of the Behaviourists, attempts to eliminate consciousness too, making the whole of man's complicated behaviour a product of what is technically called 'conditioned reflexes'. We can learn something even from these about the way we do actually learn by experience. But if the whole of man's evolution depended upon this mechanical conditioning, the Behaviourist's would logically still have to postulate a Supreme *manager of the conditions* to bring about the growth and progress there has been through response to the environment, instead of a dead level of mechanical existence. The Behaviourist seems to be dealing with the mind of man on a primitive level, whereon he does act largely mechanically in response to environment, and God's guidance is chiefly external. But they do not seem to realize the significance of a queer immature creature such as man, actually trying to find *why* he behaves as he does and then trying to *alter* that behaviour. Intelligence cannot ultimately be explained in mechanical terms. There is a difference between a billiard ball, rolling where it is pushed, and a man standing in the track, seeing a train coming along a single line to the junction of a double one, and being able to tell from the way the switch is turned, along which line the train will come and either standing still or getting out of the way accordingly.

To get back to our point that scientific thinking gives us definite and precise information about certain aspects of experience, but because of its deliberate concentration on these aspects, is not able to give us full information about experience. For some purposes scientific knowledge is necessary and reliable because those aspects which fall outside its range are relatively negligible. The beauty of a picture, for example, is negligible when considering how large a

space to reserve for it in a luggage van. Its weight and size are essential. But for the artist, the beauty is primary, weight and size secondary.

This brings us to another way of responding to reality, another aspect of reality. The beauty of an opal is quite as real as its hardness and size; but in complete darkness, with no light to be refracted through it, though its hardness and size are unchanged the beauty has gone. It does not reside only in itself, but in *itself in a suitable environment*—in this case, light. It is not necessary for our purpose here to go into the vexed problem as to whether beauty is in the eye of the beholder, or in the illuminated opal, or the relation between them. It is sufficient to indicate that some elements in the beauty of the opal depend on its capacity for differential refraction of light and that that beauty can only be perceived when suitably illumined; though any beauty of form will still be apprehensible to touch, since shape, size, and hardness remain in the absence of light.¹

Through an appreciation of beauty in nature the artist feels he too illumines an aspect of experience, as much a part of reality as that measured by the scientist. In various forms, poetry or prose, sculpture or painting, he seeks to portray something of the nature of reality as *he* sees it.

Does religious experience reveal yet another aspect? Can we, while utilizing all that art and science can tell us, get even deeper into reality in religious experience?

A. GRAHAM IKIN

(*To be continued*)

¹ We might use this to illustrate the difference in the quality of life which responds to God consciously, and reveals by the fruits of that response other human qualities, not revealed in the experience of the non-religious man. The latter cuts himself off from the stimulus of the Divine environment, in so far as it depends upon his conscious attitude, and limits himself to such human qualities as depend upon his unconscious dependence, apart from which he would not exist at all.

THE DOCTRINE OF CREATION¹

THE EARLIEST source of the doctrine of creation held by the Christian Church is found in the very first words of Scripture: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* The majestic simplicity of that statement has never been surpassed in the literature of the world, and it contrasts strikingly with the fantastic series of mythological details that are found in most other religions as an account of the origin of the world. That first sentence of the Book of Genesis is almost enough by itself to illustrate the superiority of the Hebrew Scriptures over the rest of the sacred books of the world. And for a short and simple statement of the creation of the world as the act of God these words have never been superseded and never will be.

For it is perhaps worth while to remark here that all our modern knowledge leaves the whole question of the origin of the universe exactly where it has always been. The concept of evolution, for example, which has proved so illuminating in almost every department of knowledge, has nothing to contribute here, for it is a theory of development, and not a theory of origin. And if we knew all that can be known about the past development and the present state of the world, the primal question of origin would remain. Here is the universe. How did it begin to be? *Unde? et quare? et quomodo?*

The answer—the only religious answer, and the only rational answer—is that all exists by the creative action of the Most High; all, that is, except the evil that is in the world. That exception involves the most difficult of all questions, the problem of the origin of evil, which must be passed by now. But we cannot, we dare not, attribute the existence of evil to God, for He is not merely good, but (in the fine phrase of St. Augustine) He is goodness itself, *non bonus, sed bonitas ipsa*. Apart from the evil that has invaded the world, however, all that exists in the entire universe must be the creation of God.

Now the first vital point about any real doctrine of creation is that it is creation *ex nihilo*.² Anything other than that is not really creation, for the word properly means bringing into existence what did not exist. That is obvious. If you mean by the word creation that some pre-existent substance was shaped into the present world by a Demiurge, that is plainly not a real doctrine of creation, for the question remains behind—how did the pre-existent material come into being? If all you posit is the making of a chaos into a cosmos, where did the chaos come from? Any real doctrine of creation must encompass the origin of all existence, and that is the point of the phrase *ex nihilo*. For when you speak of creation out of nothing you are not to think (as I am afraid some elementary thinkers do) that *nothing* is *something* out of which all things were made. Nothing is nothing, and creation *ex nihilo* means that there was nothing other than God, at the beginning. That is to say: God created all things out of nothing, is a precisely equivalent statement to: God created all things out of

¹ The first of a series of lectures given in the crypt of the Cathedral at Coventry, on 'Fundamentals of Theology', under the auspices of the Coventry Council of Churches and the Extra Mural Department of the University of Birmingham.

² The actual expression *creatio ex nihilo* derives (curiously enough) from the Apocrypha—a passage in 2 Maccabees 7²⁸ reads: 'I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things *that were not*' (ὅς οὐκ ὄντων).

Himself. That is only saying what is essential in any theistic doctrine, that there is no other ultimate source of being but God. If you think your way back to the beginning at all, you find yourself compelled to think that then God was, as He is eternally, and there was nothing else.

But it is profoundly unsatisfactory to regard the creation as merely an act or merely a volition of the Most High, for if it is nothing more than that it carries with it a suggestion of what might never have been, and need never have been, and that (if it may be reverently said) reduces the whole of existence to a caprice of the Almighty. It means that once God took it into His head, as it were, to make the universe—but He might never have done so. Can our minds be satisfied with such a conception? It infects all our thought of the universe with a casual, accidental, arbitrary character. Surely the whole of existence has a more organic and a more necessary relation to God than that?—a relation not merely to the will of God, and the act of God, but to His very nature, His essential and eternal being? If that is so it means that the very nature of God is creative, and this accords with all that we know of God through that revelation of Himself which culminated in Christ. For God is revealed as Love, the Eternal Love, and He must be that in every cosmic relation as well as in every human relation. In Dante's great phrase He is *l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle*, 'the Love that moves the sun and all the stars', and the Love that created these and all things. For Love is creative in its very nature. There is always a parasitic and destructive character about what is evil, and there is always an originative and creative character about what is good. If God is Love, His very nature, His very being must be creative. It must be His essential and eternal character.

Here we had better deal with the relation of time and eternity, which always manages to intrude itself into such a discussion as this. It did in the days of St. Augustine; he was asked 'What was God doing before the creation?' and he answered (with a grim humour that is not often found in his writings): 'He was preparing hell for those who ask impertinent questions!' But such a question is not so much impertinent as impossible. The very preposition 'before' shows where the misconception lies. There can be no before and after with God. If you say 'before the creation' you are thinking in terms of time—days and years and centuries that elapsed before the hour of creation. But time did not exist then. Time came into existence with the created world. Time is succession: it means one thing happening after another, and that can only be in a finite and multiple world, a created world. When you think of the being of God you must think of Him as dwelling in eternity, in an unchanging and everlasting *Now*, and in that there is no before and after, as there is in all created and temporal existence. This is the teaching of St. Augustine,³ and he is unquestionably right, not merely on religious grounds, and what is involved in any adequate doctrine of God, but on philosophical grounds as well, and what is involved in the necessary contrast between the absolute and the relative, the

³ The main passage in St. Augustine is in *De civ. Dei*, II.6: 'Since God, in whose eternity there is no change at all, is the Creator and Ordainer of time, how can He be said to have created the world after spaces of time had elapsed, unless it be said that prior to the world there was some creature by whose motion time could pass? And if the sacred and infallible Scriptures say that in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, in order that it may be understood that He had made nothing previously . . . then assuredly the world was made, not in time, but simultaneously with time' (*non est mundus factus in tempore, sed cum tempore*).

infinite and the finite. It is only in a world of things that are numerous and limited, and therefore related to one another, and related within the framework of space and time, that you can make comparisons and contrasts of size or duration or anything else. In an infinity and eternity where there is only one existence, the changeless and perfect existence of God, it is utterly meaningless to think of greater or less, or of before or after.

From the philosophical angle the approach to the thought of creation is by way of the concept of causation. All our science, all our philosophy, all our knowledge of every kind, indeed, depends upon that. We could neither think nor act with any confidence or with any result if we did not assume that everything in the universe has a cause, or rather a whole series of causes, for nothing is the result of a single cause—causation is always complex. But simplex or complex, we take it for granted (and we are bound to take it for granted, by the very constitution both of the universe and of our own minds), that nothing is causeless—that everything is the effect of previously existing causes. We cannot think at all without in some way making that assumption, which is derived, of course, from experience of our own activity. When we think it out we realize that this indispensable notion of cause and effect means, as Lotze has said, that there is a necessary law of thought which requires us 'to connect changes with conditions'. Ultimately we have to connect all the changes with all the conditions, and that means that anything that happens in the world is the result of everything else that happens, or has happened. The whole universe, therefore, is a complicated system of causes and effects, in which everything is interrelated and interdependent. Everything in one way or another and at one time and another is both a cause and an effect—but in each example the cause comes first in thought.

Now how is the universe to be envisaged in the light of this causal relation which penetrates everything? You go behind the effect and you find the cause, and you keep on doing that, and get farther and farther back. Can you go on doing this for ever? Is an infinite regress a conceivable theory? I do not think that is possible for the mind to conceive. It is as if you begin at the top of a wall, and say that the highest course of brickwork is supported by the one below it, and that by the next one below it, but you cannot go on endlessly like that. You must come to a lowest course at last, and finally to where the whole rests upon the earth. So you can think your way from cause to cause, farther and farther back, but you must come eventually to the First and Final Cause, the *causa causarum*, from which all other causes derive and on which all other causes rest.

For the universe is a *universe*—it is *one* system of existence, *one* totality of being—and there must ultimately be *one* cause for it all, *one* source of existence, *one* ground of reality. That is really conceded by all who think about the origin of the universe. The materialist, who is now hopelessly discredited, regarded matter as the *one* source of all existence. The agnostic regards the source of all existence as unknown and perhaps unknowable, but he would admit, I think, that if it can be conceivable at all it must be conceived as *one*. The theist believes that God is the *one* source of all existence, the ground of all reality, *Ens realissimum*. This unitary principle seems to be a necessity of thought, when you come to deal with ultimate realities. It cannot really be escaped. When

pluralist philosophers speak of a 'multiverse' instead of a universe they do not escape it, for they are compelled to call it a multiverse, which is only saying, in effect, that it is a unity—but a unity in which there is a variety which they wish to stress. There is one totality of existence, and there must be one ultimate cause for all, and that Universal and Eternal Cause is God.

I do not think it would be too much to say that the greater part of the confusion that haunts the thoughts of men in regard to the supernatural results from a deficient doctrine of creation, which regards it as a definite act of God complete in itself, so to speak. To think of God creating the universe as a man makes a clock, winds it up, sets it going, and then leaves it to itself, means that you do not recognize any activity of God except at the very beginning, or later in particular interventions in the course of events. That, in effect, is mere Deism, immeasurably less adequate than the conception of a living God who *upholds all things by the word of His power*. It has always been the intention in the theology of the Church to hold the doctrine of God evenly balanced between Deism and Pantheism, between transcendence and immanence, between the thought of a Deity so much above the creation as to be separated from it, and, on the other hand, a Deity so much at one with the creation as to be merged into it. But, in fact, theology (and devotion) in the past has been in far greater danger of Deism than of Pantheism, though the balance has been rather redressed during the last few generations. Now any adequate conception of the immanence of God must mean that He is everywhere present and everywhere active in His creation, and that again means what has been called *creatio continua*, a continuous creation.⁴ For there is not only the problem of origin but the equally inescapable problem of continuance: we are compelled to ask not only How did the universe begin? but How does it endure? Only two answers to the latter question seem possible. Either God in the act of creation gave to the universe a quasi-independent existence, and imparted to it enough vitality and energy to keep it going for the term of its existence, or He is always pouring His creative energy into the universe from moment to moment, so to speak. Surely this last is the only worthy conception, and the only really religious one. For the other notion really means that God, having created and vitalized the universe, then deserted it, and left it to itself. That falls far short of our faith in the living God, and in His Son, who said: *My Father worketh even until now, and I work*.

A doctrine of continuous creation may be labelled a doctrine of emanation, and condemned as such—but I do not think the mere word need frighten us. The universe *does* issue from God, and must be in some sense an outflow of His being. The only objection to the concept of emanation is that it may suggest that the creative impulse is necessary and involuntary. The first point is defensible enough, for the creative action is necessary in the sense that the very nature of God is necessarily and essentially creative. But the necessity is not an external necessity, imposed upon the Deity by something other than Himself—it is an internal necessity. We may say that God must be creative because creativeness is in His very nature, in exactly the same sense as we may say that

⁴ Creation is to be 'conceived not as a finished but as a continuous process. The will of God is the energy of the universe; uniform and permanent in quantity, yet expressing itself in modes of an infinite variety.' Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 69.

God must be righteous because righteousness is in His very nature.⁵ And the other point (that emanation suggests an involuntary motion) is sufficiently disposed of by reminding ourselves that there can be no schism between the will and the nature of God. It is His will to create, and equally it is His nature to create. There cannot be any disparity or any opposition between what God wills, and what He is.

The whole creation, as an expression of the will and of the nature of the Most High, is therefore in a very real sense a revelation of God. As the Apostle Paul writes: 'For the invisible things of God since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity.' That is why those who have never known the name of Christ, or the revelation that reached its climax in Him, are not wholly without a knowledge of God, for there is a natural revelation of the power and glory of God in the material world, and there is a moral revelation of the righteousness and holiness of God in the human conscience, apart from the supreme, final, personal revelation of God in Christ, when He was manifest in the flesh. And that evangelical revelation in Christ, inseparable from the redemption of mankind which is accomplished in Him, is also linked with the creation of the world, for the New Testament teaches that it is through Christ all the creative work of God is mediated. This appears quite definitely both in the Johannine and the Pauline writings. 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that hath been made.' 'The fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things through Jesus Christ.' 'The image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation, for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible . . . all things have been created through Him and unto Him, and He is before all things, and in Him all things hold together.' There is, and there must be, as these words suggest, a profound connexion between the creative and the redemptive work of Christ, in the sense that these both concern the whole universe, and that both are *mediatorial*, so to speak. It is *through Him* that *all* is created, and it is *through Him* that *all* is redeemed. All the purposes of God are accomplished *through Him* and the end is the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις when all is 'summed up in Christ'.

HENRY BETT

⁵ 'In saying that the sole ground of the world is the love of God, and that the world is absolutely from God, we have at the same time answered another of the standing questions of which we spoke, so far as it admits of a rational answer; namely, whether the world is necessary for God, or has been brought into existence by a free act on His part. We have passed beyond this statement of the question also; such an alternative does not exist. Because God is Love, He necessarily wills the world as the object of His love, but this necessity is not compulsion: it is, on the contrary, the highest freedom of the good will: and for this same reason this freedom is not caprice. In other words, the world is as little a necessary effluence from God or development of God, as it is the plaything of His whim.' Theodore Haering, *The Christian Faith*, pp. 366-7.

THÉRÈSE AND TERESA

WE ARE ALL familiar with Joan of Arc, and most of us are her admirers—Anatole France and Bernard Shaw have seen to that. We may be uncertain about her 'voices'; but we can honour her stern virginity, and the force of character which enabled that naïve peasant girl to shame and to inspire the Dauphin in the darkest days of France; and we deplore the mixture of ecclesiastical condemnation and political hatred which dragged her to the stake. Her religious significance, her sainthood, her canonization, is another matter. Few of us in this country are aware that France has now, with all the authority of an official and papal declaration, another patron saint in the person of Thérèse of the Infant Jesus, the 'Little Flower of Christ', who is also, to every devout Catholic, the patron of missions and missionaries all over the world.

Who is this unfamiliar Thérèse, and how has she come to occupy this exalted position? There was born in 1873, in a little town in Normandy, Marie-Thérèse Martin, the youngest of nine children, four of whom had died in childhood. Her parents, who had both of them before marriage oscillated, so to speak, between the cloister and the hearth, had settled down to a comfortable middle-class life—*bourgeois*, it would now be called; but their real interest was in pious devotion to the Church, its consolations and its promises. In Lisieux, the town where they settled, was a 'Carmel', a conventual establishment for nuns of that austere order. Two of the elder sisters became in time nuns, and Thérèse from her earliest years was eager to follow them.

This was through no desire to escape from domestic confinement. On her father—she had lost her mother when she was four years old—she lavished an almost more than daughterly affection. He was her 'King'; she was his 'little Queen'. They were never happier than when together. But she longed for something more than this companionship could give her. Her first 'conversion', she held, had taken place when she was three years old. Ten years after, she was herself miraculously cured of a disease, and her prayers converted a notorious criminal named Pranzoni. A little later she sought permission to follow her elder sister Pauline into the Carmel at Lisieux. This request was not unnaturally frowned upon by her father, and by the authorities of the convent and the diocese. But nothing could dismay her. She even managed, when in Rome on a pilgrimage, to appeal to the Pope himself. He diplomatically answered her that it would be as God wills. Gradually the obstacles were removed. Obduracy in the face of such gentle but unyielding insistence was impossible; and in 1890, at the age of seventeen, she made her profession and took the veil. For seven years she lived in the convent; she underwent all its not wholly unmitigated rigours; she discharged all its simple duties, never rising, like one of her sisters, to be elected Prioress, but appointed mistress of novices. She wrote constant letters to the members of her family; she set down, at the command of her superior, the account of her life (*Histoire d'une âme*); she won all, or most, hearts, by her conscientiousness, humility, and affection. In the summer of 1897 she fell ill of a painful combination of diseases, and passed away with the words, 'My God, I love You', on her lips.

In twenty-eight years' time, five years after the canonization of Joan of Arc, in a gorgeous assemblage in St. Peter's at Rome, in the presence of thirty-seven cardinals and two hundred archbishops and bishops, and an immense and brilliant congregation, the Pope solemnly announced the elevation to the Sainthood of one whom he saluted as 'the greatest saint of modern times', because 'she had liberated sanctity and made it obviously accessible to everyone'.

How had it all come about? What had lifted the little middle-class half-educated young woman from her sheltered life in '*famille*' and convent to the ranks of Joan of Arc, St. Francis Xavier, and St. Teresa of Avila? Her story can be read in several books which have appeared in the last two or three years: such as *Storm of Glory*, by John Beevers¹—the phrase had been used of her life by Pius XI at her canonization; and *St. Tèrese of Lisieux, the Little Flower of Jesus* (autobiography and letters, etc., translated by Canon T. N. Taylor).² Half of Victoria Sackville-West's *The Eagle and the Dove*³ is devoted to the Little Flower; the other to her namesake and fellow Carmelite, the Spanish Teresa of Jesus.

Here, our question is answered, at least in part, in the first and the third of these books, the first written by a devout Catholic, and the other in deep though not uncritical sympathy with the Catholic type of sainthood. It is necessary to use the word 'type'. To the Protestant, the term suggests saintliness, a rare quality manifested and recognized more or less clearly in those who may be said, in any Church, to have the 'mind which was in Christ'. The Catholic allows in this matter no such right of private judgement. Sainthood depends on canonization, and canonization is a solemn and irrevocable and infallible pronouncement by the Holy See, that the recognized conditions which warrant it have been fulfilled. These conditions include the attainment of the lower grade of beatification, which is valid for a particular region in the Church rather than for the Church as a whole; and the proof of pre-eminent virtue and of the performance of at least two miracles, in addition to the miracles demanded for beautification. If the proof is satisfactory, the cult of the saint is permitted everywhere. He is regarded as being already in Paradise; and prayers are made not for but to him.

The examination of the alleged proofs is made by the highest authorities; it is long and rigorous; and as the proposals for canonization may be made at any interval after the death of the candidate, they may be dealing with events in everyone's memory, or with the records of what took place centuries ago. Francis of Assisi and Thomas à Becket were canonized shortly after their deaths. John Fisher and Thomas More were canonized only the other day. Teresa of Avila had to wait forty years; John of the Cross one hundred and thirty-five. When the Little Flower was raised to sainthood she had been dead only twenty-eight years.

From the moment of her death, remarkable occurrences were reported. Before her death she actually announced that she would be a saint, and that she would send down from heaven showers of roses. In sixteen years after its publication, in 1898, more than a million copies of her autobiography, complete

¹ Sheed and Ward, 10s. 6d.

² Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 15s.

³ Obtainable through the Religious Book Club, 2s. 6d.

or abridged, had been printed, in addition to translations in most European languages. Week by week, pilgrims by the hundred and even the thousand thronged the streets of Lisieux. Silk *sachés* containing material that she had touched were produced and sold by the million. One of these healed the wife of a gardener affected with double strangulated hernia; a sufferer from gastritis and enteritis, who had travelled in vain to Lourdes, was cured after praying before the tomb of Thérèse. A paralysed child, laid on the coffin of the saint, walked away completely cured. There were indeed showers of miracles, like the showers of roses. Two miracles were examined for her beatification, and two more for the further ceremony. But these were but specimens of scores which were occurring throughout the Catholic world.

In one respect at least what is true of Saint Thérèse is true of the generality of saints. Popular veneration was not the effect but the cause of canonization. Contrary to some popular beliefs, the Vatican is accustomed to give its verdicts with great caution. It waits till a case has been made out, convincing to all whose opinion it cares about, and then it pronounces. When there is nothing more to be said, Rome speaks. This applies to Papal decrees as a whole, as in the instance of the famous tome of Leo or the promulgation of the Immaculate Conception. In twenty years' time the demand for Thérèse's elevation had become too strong to be resisted, just as, for years before, the craving for souvenirs of the Little Flower had overwhelmed the poor nuns of her Carmel at Lisieux.

What has been remarkable in Thérèse's elevation has been the absence of miracles, or indeed of anything spectacular or dramatic during her humble career in her provincial nunnery, and the equally humble character of her piety. She was no Joan, lifting the fortunes of the crown out of the dust into the light of victory; nor was she a Catharine of Siena, corresponding with kings and emperors, and bringing back the Pope from his Babylonish captivity. Nor did she, like her namesake of Avila, combining conspicuous administrative talents with mystical insight, infuse a new austerity into her order and rekindle the flame of her country's devotion. There were a few 'visions' during her life but no miracles which a Papal court could have accepted. Like Brother Lawrence, she practised the presence of God in the kitchen and with the scrubbing brush. Life in a convent, under the regiment of women, is not easy. She greeted each rebuff and disappointment and petty slander and injustice with a smile. It is the picture of many good women who meet us in the pages of Wesley's *Journals* and *Letters*, and of their grand-daughters. She had learnt the secret of esteeming others better than herself. Her favourite adjective for herself and the people and things that she loved was 'little'; keep me, she was always praying, little and unknown.

With all this there was a warmth, a sensuousness in her piety, like that which made some critical Methodists shake their heads over certain phrases in Charles Wesley's hymns. Some of her admirers have felt her language at times 'mawkish' and 'namby-pamby'. But she was expressing in it all the lusciousness of the Song of Songs; reminding us of the commentary on those passionate chapters written by Teresa of Avila. 'Burn it,' said her director; and she did so. It is difficult for a religious biographer, as for a psychologist, to draw a firm line between *erôs* and *agapê*. It was the demurest of clergymen who wrote:

*Be my last thought how sweet to rest
For ever on my Saviour's breast.*

We may disapprove Thérèse's expressions of rapturous passion for her 'little husband', as we may turn from the erotic language, so familiar to the Catholic, addressed to the Blessed Virgin, or from Crashaw's poem to Teresa of Avila. But it is only just to remember that the phrases which shock us come mostly from individuals whose austerities and self-mortification most of us would never dream of imitating, however we thought, as they did, that God would be glorified thereby. Teresa's 'son' in the Carmelite order, John of the Cross, for sheer lyric intensity, left our English Sucklings and Herricks far behind him, while, from the authorities of his own order, he endured years of persecution more ruthless than Paul inflicted on his fellow Jews or suffered from them. And this was simply because he insisted on the completest obedience to the pitiless severity of the Rule.

The truth is that we shall misjudge both Teresa and her namesake of Lisieux unless we bear in mind the purpose of the Carmelite order. The Carmelites, or Whitefriars, claimed, with the credulous daring of medieval imagination, that their founder was Elijah, and their first home a monastic settlement on the mountain where he had destroyed the prophets of Baal. Unlike the Benedictines, with their consecrated culture, the Cistercians, with their manual labours, the Dominicans, the 'hunting hounds' of the Lord, or the Jesuits, the shock troops of the Papal host, the Carmelites' purpose was to find their way to heaven by a life of strenuous contemplation ensured by a relentless system of 'buffeting the body and leading it about as a slave'.

From time to time, as happened with the Franciscans immediately after the death of their founder, the rigours were relaxed. Then, protests were raised; and demands were made for a restoration of thorough-going obedience to the 'rules of society'; until the order was divided into two sections, the 'calced', those who wore shoes and correspondingly warm and comfortable clothing, and the 'discalced', who scorned everything but sandals and the corresponding habiliments. Dr. Allison Peers, in his *Spirit of Flame*, and his *St. John of the Cross*, has shown how the Carmelite mystical poet was a martyr for the creed of the 'discalced'. In his *Mother of Carmel*,⁴ a brief but admirable study of Teresa, we can see physical hardships, rapt contemplation, and the care of all her convents, combining to produce a type of saintliness which recalls now the many sided activities of the English evangelicals of a century later, and now the great apostle whose labours have recently been so vividly described in the moving pages of Sholem Asch.

There is one aspect of suffering, familiar to the Carmelite, with which the most ardent of Protestant evangelicals will hardly sympathize. They do not generally covet suffering as a means of filling up what is lacking in the sufferings of Christ. Yet little Thérèse of Lisieux had found her way into this secret place. Her last years at the convent were full of pain; bravely concealed as long as possible from her fellow nuns, lest her conventual tasks should be forbidden. It did not interfere with her correspondence, nor her conviction that she was

⁴ S.C.M. (1945).

specially called to pray for the conversion (*sic*) of priests, and to busy herself in the spiritual guidance of young missionaries.

Yet she was most deeply conscious that labour was rest and that pain was sweet when she was offering it, in her own words, as a sacrifice to her Spouse and a pledge of her affection, like the supreme pledge that He had given to her in His own passion. Those whose days are occupied in serving the present age are apt to forget how many must fulfil their calling by bearing the 'mild yoke' of daily endurance of weakness, disability, pain. Those who must only stand and wait may surely learn from Lisieux that suffering is not purely a disability or a hindrance. They will not seek it. They would neither, like Jerome, as he is represented in medieval paintings, spend precious hours striking their bare flesh with rough stones till the blood flowed, nor copy the self-inflicted tortures of the Hindu devotee with his plank of nails. They will not suppose—Teresa never did, though Thérèse came near to it—that prayer and work are distinct and incommensurate. But they know that their Saviour can 'with them in the fire remain', and that they can be made 'meet, by consecrated pain, to see the face divine'.

This brings us to the source of the astonishing cult of St. Thérèse. She 'liberated sanctity and made it obviously accessible to everyone', or rather, to all the humble tribe of those who are conscious of no gifts of healing, or helps, or governance, who are, as Thérèse said of herself, very ignorant and little and unimportant, but who long for some 'light to shine upon the road that leads them to the Lamb'.

We Protestants have for the most part cultivated a kind of stoicism with regard to suffering. We have cheered the runner on the course; we have forgotten to sympathize with those who cannot run. We have had as a result to watch the rapid growth of Christian Science. Such 'Science', indeed, has nothing to do with the consecration of pain. It professes to deny the very existence of pain. It comes to the sufferer and says: 'I can cure you; you are not meant to be in pain; it is all a mistake.' Sometimes relief may come; sometimes not. But there is something more precious than relief from pain. Who knows what may not be learnt, as our Master learnt the lesson Himself, from suffering? The language that came so naturally to Thérèse of Lisieux and to her namesake of Avila, does not dwell easily on Protestant lips. But beneath the language is the humble piety and self-forgetful love of Christ's little ones, who are meek and lowly in heart, and find rest unto their souls.

WILLIAM F. LOFTHOUSE

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND EARLY METHODISM

(Continued from page 153, April 1950)

THESE two paragraphs point to the essential differences between the Society of Friends and the People Called Methodists. In detail, they hinge round two main principles.

1. To George Fox, the impact of God upon the individual soul was conceived as 'illumination', and a person, becoming a Quaker, must be 'convinced'. To Wesley and early Methodism, that impact is one of purifying fire and the change is described as 'conversion'. In both cases, however, it is the response of the individual to the call of the Divine—with Fox it is Inner Light, with Wesley, it is both Light and Heat:

Refining fire, go through my heart,
Illuminate my soul,
Scatter Thy life through every part,
And sanctify the whole.²³

One might be tempted to say that, accordingly, Quakerism is intellectual while Methodism is emotional; but that would not be true. While both movements, in their early stages, witnessed paroxysmal scenes of strong emotion, Fox never gave to his followers statements of belief comparable to Wesley's *Sermons, Appeals, and Minutes*. In spite of the scenes which accompanied early Methodist preaching and which called upon the heads of the Wesleys charges of 'enthusiasm', Wesley and his brother were sufficiently well schooled in theology to give a sound intellectual basis to Methodism. Fox never did this; in fact, deficiency of education and general mental attitude precluded him from doing so. Whatever refining and interpretative work had to be done in Quakerism, was left to some of Fox's later disciples like Robert Barclay to do.

For the same reason, there is not in Fox anything comparable to Wesley's conception of the gravity of sin. Of that 'depth of inbred sin' which runs through all early Methodist thought and life, Fox seems to know little. He sought an inner illumination; Wesley an inner cleansing and empowering. The accounts of Fox and Wesley, taken from their *Journals*, stand in interesting contrast:

FOX: I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition; and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy. . . . For though I read the scriptures, that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not, but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open and as the Father of life drew me to His Son.'²⁴

WESLEY: While he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.²⁵

²³ 'Hymns and Sacred Poems' (1740), *The Postical Works of John and Charles Wesley* (1868), I.329.

²⁴ *The Journal of George Fox* (1765 edition), p. 7.

²⁵ *Journal*, I.475-6.

It may be said that while Fox is in line with the Johannine conception of Illumination, Wesley is in line with the Pauline and Lutheran conception of Justification by Faith. Accordingly it is not surprising that both Paul and Luther were represented in that society in Aldersgate Street when Wesley's heart was 'strangely warmed'; nor is it to be wondered at that Fox's favourite texts are from the Fourth Gospel, e.g. 'That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world' (1^o) and 'I have called you friends' (15¹⁶). Thus for half a century the early Methodists were calling men to repentance, offering Christ to a sinful world of men and women upon whom the Quakers made no impression except appearing to them as pitiable eccentrics.

It must not be supposed that the Wesleys were blind to the idea of Illumination and Christ the source thereof. In fact, Charles Wesley expounds the conception of Christ as the Light of the believer in a hymn which might well have been written by a Quaker. (The Quakers produced no hymn-writer of note until John Greenleaf Whittier—1807-92.) Wesley writes:

THE WAY OF DUTY THE WAY OF SAFETY

Verse 2. Not all the powers of hell can fright
A soul, that walks with Christ in light;
He walks, and cannot fall:
Clearly he sees, and wins his way,
Shining unto the perfect day,
And more than conquers all.

Verse 3. Light of the world, Thy beams I bless;
On Thee, bright Sun of Righteousness,
My faith hath fix'd its eye;
Guided by Thee, through all I go,
Nor fear the ruin spread below,
For Thou art always nigh.²⁶

Here is no stumbling 'amid the encircling gloom', nor a mere inner illumination, but a Divine radiance lighting all the Christian's path.

Fox and Wesley also differ in their attitude toward the Spirit of God and to the Scriptures. Fox, again akin to the Johannine outlook, conceives of the Spirit as the source of revelation. Wesley, again predominantly Pauline, emphasizes the Witness of the Spirit that we are children of God.²⁷ To the Quakers, the revelations of the Spirit 'are not to be subjected to the examination of the Scriptures as to a touchstone'.²⁸ Wesley replied to this,

The Scriptures are the touchstone whereby Christians examine all, real or supposed revelations.²⁹

The early Methodists recognized only the experience of the Spirit which worked itself out in 'holiness of heart and life'. In his *Farther Appeal*, Wesley takes up this very point with the Quakers:

Art thou acquainted with the 'leading of the Spirit' not by notion only, but by living experience? I fear very many of you talk of this, who do not so much as know what

²⁶ 'Hymns and Sacred Poems,' *Poetical Works*, V.17. ²⁷ Romans 8¹⁰; *Standard Sermons*, X and XLV.

²⁸ Wesley, quoting Barclay's *Apology* in his letter of 10th February 1748 (*Wesley's Letters*, II.117).

²⁹ *ibid.*

it means. How does the Spirit of God lead His children to this or that particular action?³⁰

2. The greatest difference between early Methodism and the Society of Friends lay in their attitude to the Church, its ministry, and sacraments. From the first, George Fox adopted an attitude of hostility to the Established Church and its ministers and dismissed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his religious practices. True, he lived at a time when the spiritual life of the Church was at an extremely low ebb and that it was passing through turbulent days. But the same could be said of both the Established Church and Dissent in Wesley's time. In the early eighteenth century the Church of England was robbed of efficiency through fox-hunting parsons and absentee rectors, the Dissenters were drifting toward Arianism—but Wesley did not on that account repudiate his Church or scorn her sacraments. On the contrary, he insisted that Methodism involved no separation from the Church of England, even when such an assertion seemed to be contradicted by events. The respective attitudes of Quaker and Methodist to the Church of England were alone sufficient to render impossible any close union between the two Societies.

With regard to worship, the Quakers did not believe in appointing set times for prayer and praise. In the letter of 10th February 1748, already referred to, Wesley discusses this point. With Barclay as the source of his knowledge of Quakerism, Wesley takes the statement that the Quakers worship only 'when we are moved thereto by the Holy Spirit'. Wesley first replies on a point of logic, showing that Barclay does not define the term, 'moved by the Spirit' and then proceeds to argue that there is no Scripture warrant for Barclay's statement. Finally, he attacks the contention from his experience. Wesley was a man who lived and worked by giving 'every sacred moment' its allotted task. He worked and prayed to a time-table. The Quaker may regard this as 'will-worship', but to Wesley it was the secret of his power and efficiency. He knew from experience that praying or preaching at fixed times did not hinder, but rather was the secret of the success of his evangelical mission:

Preaching and prayer at appointed times have begotten faith both at Bristol and Poulton. . . .³¹

Against this, all argument was futile.

Early Methodism had little in common with Quaker worship. Barclay says:

Silence is a principal part of God's worship—that is, men's sitting silent together, ceasing from all outwards, from their own words and actings, in the natural will and comprehension, and feeling after the inward seed of life;³²

and then quotes a number of Biblical texts to support his contention. Wesley had little difficulty in dealing with the proof-texts for they were wholly irrelevant to the subject of worship. He knew what he was dealing with. He had had enough of quietism in his contest with Philip Molther the Apostle of Stillness, and he was too shrewd a leader of men not to see that such an attitude cut the

³⁰ *Wesley's Works*, VIII.188.

³¹ *Letters*, II.122.

³² *ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

sinew of Christian effort for most people. He was also too well trained in the ordinances of the Christian Church to surrender them lightly. The meetings of the Quakers and of the early Methodists must have provided a striking contrast—the former with prolonged silence and the latter with fervent prayer and singing. The Quaker and the Methodist meetings may have been akin in the liberty of utterance which they afforded to those so moved by the spirit, but the Quakers regarded their meetings as 'worship', Wesley never regarded his preaching services or class meetings as such. He always asserted that Methodist meetings presupposed the worship of the Parish Church and were incomplete without it.³³ An eloquent comment upon Wesley's regard for Quaker worship is to be found in his letter, dated 10th August 1772, to Mary Stokes, who was evidently attracted toward the Society of Friends:

When you enter into your closet and shut the door and pray to your Father who seeth in secret, then is the time to groan to Him who reads the heart the unutterable prayer. But to be silent in the congregation of His people is wholly new, and therefore wholly wrong. A silent meeting was never heard of in the Church of Christ for sixteen hundred years. I entreat you to read over with much prayer that little tract *A Letter to a Quaker*. . . . Go not near the tents of those dead, formal men called Quakers!³⁴

With regard to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Quakers denied that it was instituted by our Lord and argued that all life was sacramental. Barclay's words are:

The breaking of bread by Christ with His disciples was but a figure, and ceases in such as have obtained the substance.³⁵

The Wesley's held that the injunction 'Do this' was as binding upon Christ's disciples as anything possibly could be. One is inclined to think that it was with such people as the Quakers in mind that Charles Wesley wrote:

Ah, tell us no more
The spirit and power
Of Jesus our God
Is not to be found in this life-giving food!

Did Jesus ordain
His supper in vain,
And furnish a feast
For none but His earliest servants to taste?

O that all men would haste
To the spiritual feast,
At Jesus's word
Do this, and be fed with the love of our Lord!³⁶

There is surely every reason for concluding that the Wesley's did more for the cause of Christ by adhering to the Church's worship and sacraments, reforming her ways, and revitalizing her life, than did George Fox, who retired to ridicule and denounce from without. Wesley saw that it was not a case of the Means of

³³ Leeds Conference, 1766: Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, II.576. ³⁴ *Letters*, V.334-5.

³⁵ *ibid.*, II.124.

³⁶ 'Hymns on the Lord's Supper' (No. 92), *Poetical Works*, III.282-3.

Grace having been tried and found wanting, but of their not being tried. He thus continually exhorted his followers to attend Church and Sacrament, even to the point of insisting that administration by an evil-living clergyman would not invalidate the ordinance.³⁷ One of his sermons, written originally for his pupils at Oxford in 1788 and republished in 1788 for the Methodist people, is entitled 'The Duty of Constant Communion'.³⁸

Holding these principles, the Methodists were not in a position to make close allies of the Quakers. To become a Methodist and fulfil Wesley's injunctions, was in effect to deny some of the fundamental tenets of the Society of Friends.

CONCLUSION

In origin, Methodism and Quakerism were mighty prophetic movements, each led by a great prophetic soul, the one by John Wesley and the other by George Fox. They were in their own way, each a protest against lifelessness and decadence in the Church. Dr. H. B. Workman has called Methodism the 'Montanism of the Eighteenth Century';³⁹ and with Montanism, the Quakers also had much in common. However, where Quakerism went off into mysticism and eccentricities, Methodism remained anchored by its leader to the traditions of its mother Church, and steered clear of anarchy and irrationalism. The Society of Friends inherited a type of thought from Jakob Behmen, whose writings are described by Dr. Rufus Jones as 'very uneven, and containing a heavy and unfortunate legacy from alchemy and theosophy'. Wesley's opinion is expressed in no uncertain manner. In 1742, he judged Behmen's *Mysterium Magnum* to be

most sublime nonsense, inimitable bombast, fustian not to be paralleled!⁴⁰

and in 1780 he published a pamphlet *Thoughts upon Jakob Behmen*⁴¹ which reflects the same attitude. Wesley was lacking in sympathy with any form of mystical or speculative theology, because he himself was essentially practical. His theology was 'applied theology' with the Class Meetings the laboratory where his data were verified. The standards he left for his followers were not treatises, but sermons; and Charles's legacy was not theories to argue about, but hymns to sing—all essentially practical. Here was a fundamental cleavage between early Methodism and the Society of Friends which accounted for the relationship which existed between the two Christian bodies.

We might conclude by saying that the relationship between early Methodism and the Society of Friends was this—contacts between individual Methodists and individual Quakers were frequent and generally happy. Wesley enjoyed more than one conversation with a Quaker and more than once was indebted to them for help and hospitality. Several Quakers found their way into the early Methodist Societies—though sometimes with disturbing results. On the other hand, while early Methodism had points of contact through the nature of their origins and in their emphasis upon the response and the responsibility of the individual to the Divine, there were deep cleavages which made close union impossible.

³⁷ See *Standard Sermon*, XII; also Sermon CIV in *Works*, VII.174.

³⁸ *Works*, VII.145ff.

³⁹ *The Place of Methodism in the Catholic Church*, p. 59.

⁴⁰ *Journal*, III.17.

⁴¹ *Works*, IX.509ff.

Perhaps the most succinct expression of those cleavages, and also of the attitude of Wesley and early Methodism to the Quakers, is to be found in Wesley's own words:

Between me and them there is a great gulf fixed. The sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper keep us at a wide distance from each other; insomuch that, according to the view of things I have now, I should as soon commence Deist as Quaker.⁴²

JOHN C. BOWMER

⁴² Letter to 'John Smith', 25th June 1746. *Letters*, II.75.

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THE FOUR QUARTETS RE-EXAMINED

IT IS SAID that religion and politics must always be the chief topics of conversation amongst intelligent men, and it might equally be asserted that all great poets must be concerned with the idea of beauty, time, eternity, the place of man in the universe, the intuition of God. That is to say that great poets must be philosophers and in the deepest sense religious. Milton was deliberate in his attempt to justify the ways of God to man, but there are other avenues of approach than those of reason, and many poets have rather tried to comprehend or even to glimpse in moments of vision the contact of the eternal on mortality.

In the seventeenth century we find the group of 'Metaphysicals', Donne, Vaughan, Herbert, Crashaw, Davies, Traherne expressing in the thought and language of their period their visions of time, eternity, and God. In the eighteenth century with a different accent this was to be done by a group whose chief members are Watts, Wesley, Cooper, and Blake. Only in the past few years has any appreciation of the former two been expressed in literary circles, and we are probably only on the eve of their full appreciation. In the present century the same ideas are best seen in the work of Robert Bridges and T. S. Eliot. This does not, of course, imply that no others but those named above have dealt with philosophic topics; for a study of Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth ought to prefix any examination of such poets. But it is my purpose to suggest that the three groups already mentioned have much in common, and although I doubt if Mr. Eliot has much knowledge of those particular eighteenth-century poets, I suggest that he is more indebted to the metaphysicals than most commentators have considered. With these ideas in mind I intend to reconsider Mr. Eliot's *Four Quartets*.

The complete poem first appeared in 1944, but its four quarters had appeared separately: *Burnt Norton* in 1936, *East Coker* in 1940, *The Dry Salvages* in 1941, and *Little Gidding* in 1942. Any close examination shows that to be appreciated fully they must be considered as a whole.

The *Four Quartets* is 'difficult' poetry, not to be appreciated by casual dipping or half-somnulent reading. Like all Mr. Eliot's work it is also at times extremely irritating: the reader is left feeling that the poet is abstruse occasionally for abstractions sake, 'leaving one still with the intolerable wrestle with words and meanings'. At other times we feel he might well have thought longer and more deeply until his ideas were more clearly expressible. The fact is that the poems must be read and re-read, pondered and examined, and then read again as poetry. But then, some have asked, is the result worth all the labour? The answer I believe is, Yes. Wordsworth clothed his ideas in simple language, taking for his mouthpieces children and rustics, and for his emblem of eternity the trivial incidents of everyday life. The result has been that one section of his readers imagines him to be a simple poet and have even offered his verse to children, while another section is baffled in understanding because of the annoying superficial simplicity. Mr. Eliot has gone to the other extreme.

Jacob wrestles with the angel all night, and it is only after the struggle that he glimpses his divine opponent and understands his secret. We are not told that he was able to say to his friends: 'Here in a few simple sentences are the immortal truths I have learned.' We must, as Charles Wesley expressed in his poem, wrestle with Jacob through the night. Truth is not to be bought over the counter in little packets, but it must be agonized and striven for. We are invited in Mr. Eliot's poetry to join him in that struggle. It should be quickly added that the 'struggle' soon becomes a most enjoyable one. The *Four Quartets* is not a philosophical treatise meant to instruct, but poetry to be enjoyed. As the poetry is examined, increasingly there come those flashes of insight and illumination found only in the works of the great writers; passages which we had previously thought pointless assume meaning and beauty; and in a true sense the poetry becomes a 'criticism of life'.

*We had the experience but missed the meaning,
And approach to the meaning restores the experience
In a different form . . .*

Any sensible writer on this subject is indebted to the critics who have already done much to clarify Mr. Eliot's ideas, and I personally am particularly indebted to two studies—*Four Quartets Rehearsed*, by Raymond Preston, and to the article 'Four Quartets: A Commentary', by Helen Gardner, published in *The Penguin New Writing* (Autumn 1946). It would be difficult to write about Mr. Eliot at present without reproducing many of the ideas expressed by those writers.

In planning these poems it seems that Mr. Eliot has tried to escape from the logic of prose and from the futile attempt to express in mild reasonable sentences the inexpressible profundity of life, but has rather turned to music for inspiration. Just as Beethoven in his *Quartets* seems to pass from mere tune and rhythm to a wider world of beauty and thought, so Mr. Eliot attempts to use musical form and musical repetition to give his intimations of immortality and his intuitions and quick visions of reality. The theme is perhaps time in eternity and the relation of history to the timelessness of God, but the expression is poetry in musical form.

Quite obviously Mr. Eliot is always profoundly influenced by Dante, by St. John of the Cross, and other medieval mystics. His admiration for John Donne and the religious poets of the seventeenth century is well known. Thus, we can expect to find continuous echoes of their works as well as many more from other saints and poets. Some of these references are deliberate, but many others are probably unconscious. A poet may always say, 'I am a part of all that I have met': he frequently also has admitted that he draws from unplumbed depths of inspiration, from race memories, from the muses, from God. Thus, as the reader of any poet takes an active part in appreciation of his work, supplying himself part of the overtones or adding the colour from his own vision, so in particular with the poetry of Mr. Eliot must he bring these qualities to his reading, and deliberately try to supply his own associations to the poet's images. The various images are there: the better read the reader, the richer will be his appreciation.

With one or two slight exceptions, which will not be discussed here, the poems of *Four Quartets* have a consistent form. Each poem has five movements. The first movement is in a kind of free blank verse and employs various images 'violently yoked together'. They form the ideas and contradictions which the poem has to reconcile, the despair which must be conquered, and the difficulties of philosophic thought which must be comprehended.

The second movement is in two parts: firstly a lyrical passage, using symbol and metaphor to amplify the ideas of the first movement, and secondly a free verse colloquial passage giving a personal application.

The third movement is the core of the poem discussing the previous ideas and illustrating various points.

The fourth, a short lyric, leads to the final movement which again has two parts: a colloquial passage considering the difficulties of words and language to express reality, and finally a more lyrical 'falling close' in which ideas and phrases from the previous movements are recalled, and themes recapitulated in order to resolve the questions and doubts in poetic certainty.

The poems are also linked, in that phrases and ideas of one Quartet flow over into the others, and the final Quartet gathers all of them together for its ecstatic ending. Thus we can hardly overstress the quality of musical appreciation for an understanding of the poems. They are best approached and examined as one would a symphony.

The medieval idea of the four elements is present throughout, and each poem in its imagery appears to stress one of them, Air, Earth, Water, or Fire. Each poem, too, seems to stress one incident of Christian belief, the temptation of Christ, the Passion, the Annunciation, or Pentecost. A few dominant quotations from other authors appear in each poem, and in each are many echoes and quotations from Mr. Eliot's earlier works.

It appears that Mr. Eliot has a Scottish or American attitude to history. Sometimes it is clannish and his inspiration is personal or springs from his own ancestors, and at other times he is impressed by historical associations much as the educated American is impressed. The common, perhaps blind acceptance of antiquity and history characteristic of the English is never present. The poet in the presence of 'History' puts on his horn-rimmed glasses and turns up his guide-book. The four poems have as titles the names of four places: *Burnt Norton*, a Cotswold manor-house; *East Coker*, a Somersetshire village from which in the seventeenth century Andrew Eliot set out for the New World; *The Dry Salvages*, a group of rocky islands in New England; and *Little Gidding*, the Huntingdonshire village, which was the home of the religious community of Nicholas Ferrar in the seventeenth century. These places have in general both personal and historic meaning to the poet, but the poems do not attempt to give natural descriptions of them. Probably Mr. Eliot has had his emotions roused at some time in those particular spots, and now in tranquillity he recalls those scenes and thoughts. The place is the starting point of his thought: its scenes colour all his imagery, but the thought and emotion are the important things.

Let us examine each poem in more detail.

Burnt Norton seems to have been a deserted Cotswold manor-house with no personal connexion to Mr. Eliot. He had apparently wandered in its deserted

garden and glanced into the empty rooms. References to the house are few, but those who know the grey pleasantness of such stone houses and the quiet richness of the surrounding countryside can well see the propriety of the choice of setting. As the sunshine flickers over Cotswold stones the man must be dull of spirit who does not feel the sense of history merging into a perpetual present. Time can appear to have no meaning. The Norman carving on the door of a Cotswold church near me as I write this is as fresh as if it were completed last week. It is not historic, but rather something which happened just round the corner. It is in this mood, I feel, that Mr. Eliot writes.

Glancing at the images of the poem we find references to the rose-garden, passages, rose-bowls, birds and thrushes in the autumn heat, the box circle, the voices of children, the yew tree, the kingfisher, the drained pool. It is a civilized, cultured, even if deserted setting. No persons are present, but old voices linger and distant voices can be heard in that present.

The main theme of Time is immediately introduced:

*Time present and time past
And both perhaps present in time future,
If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.*

Thus the main topic of time and eternity is set before us, and we are to watch the subsidiary themes develop from it. It is the theme of the Metaphysicals, but there is no dazzling flash of illumination as in Henry Vaughan's

*I saw eternity the other night
Like a great ring of pure and endless light
All calm, as it was bright.*

Mr. Eliot rather develops the momentary flashes of insight he has received, from distant memories, from the roses in the garden in contrast to the dusty rose-leaves within the house. The smell of the roses is to haunt all the poems. The rose, we must suppose, is the symbol of earthly love, a symbol of time rather than eternity—dust settles on the rose-leaves—and its overtones suggest Dante, and the medieval romances.

Passing into the magic of the garden he has a momentary vision of beauty and bliss: a sudden realization of reality. There is 'The unheard music hidden in the shrubbery', and suddenly as he gazes at the dry pool in the garden the miracle happens:

*Dry the pool, dry concrete, brown edged,
And the pool was filled with water out of sunlight,
And the lotus rose, quietly, quietly,
The surface glittered out of heart of light,
And they were behind us, reflected in the pool.
Then a cloud passed, and the pool was empty.
Go, said the bird, for the leaves were full of children,
Hidden excitedly, containing laughter.
Go, go, go, said the bird: human kind
Cannot bear very much reality.*

This passage, surely extremely beautiful in imagery and sound, has much in it that it is worthy of close examination. It contains echoes of other works by Mr. Eliot. In the five short poems, *Landscapes*, there is one entitled *New Hampshire*. In this we find:

*Children's voices in the orchard
Between the blossom and the fruit time.*

And in *Cape Ann*:

O quick quick quick, quick hear the song sparrow . . .

It is in a bird's note, the echo of children's voices, that reality is caught. 'Sudden in a shaft of sunlight' comes 'the moment out of time.'

I do not know if it has yet been suggested that much of Mr. Eliot's imagery may be inspired by *Alice in Wonderland* and *Alice Through the Looking-glass*. In that poetic nonsense there are the constant references to passages, little doors, rose-gardens, rose-trees, birds, pools, and shadows. For example compare both with the *Four Quartets* and *Alice in Wonderland* this passage from *The Family Reunion*:

*I only looked through the little door
When the sun was shining on the rose-garden:
And heard in the distance tiny voices,
And then a black raven flew over.
And then I was only my own feet walking
Away, down a concrete corridor
In a dead air.*

The second movement introduces the second theme of the music—the idea of reality at the centre of the riotous movement, the quiet centre of the storm of life. The images are of the axle-tree of a wheel and of 'the still point of the turning world'. This last phrase has already been used in Mr. Eliot's *Triumphal March*. Is the still point in nature the centre of the world or the poles? It is interesting to note that the metaphysical poets were fascinated by the poles; Francis Quarles, for example, refers to the 'arctic needle' which 'frantics up and down from side to side . . .'

*At length he slacks his motion and doth rest
His trembling point at his bright pole's beloved breast.*

It is impossible to examine all the ideas of the poem, which then stresses the gloom and disaffection of life, the frequent times when no reality is to be found.

*Garlick and sapphires in the mud
Clot the bedded axle-tree.*

The poet would grasp what John Wesley called 'naked eternity', but reality

can only be found in time, that 'fragment of eternity broken off at both ends' (again Wesley's phrase). There is

*Only a flicker
Over the strained time-ridden faces
Distracted from distraction by distraction . . .
While the world moves
In appetency, on its metallid ways
Of time past and time future.*

The fifth movement has a metaphysical play on words; for words and meanings are always moving, 'words strain, crack, and sometimes break under the burden'. Mere words suddenly become The Word—The Word was tempted and tried in the desert in moments of time. Then, as in music, the opening phrases are again caught up. The dryness of the dust of the desert and the dust on the rose-leaves recalls the illumination of the first scene in the garden, and the poem closes on that note:

*Sudden in a shaft of sunlight
Even while the dust moves
There rises the hidden laughter
Of children in the foliage.
Quick now, here, now, always—*

This is surely the country described by the metaphysical poet Joseph Beaumont:

*For now I'm haunted with the thought of that
Heav'n-planted garden, where felicity
Flourished on every tree.*

East Coker is a Somerset village with historical personal associations for Mr. Eliot. It is not far from the sea apparently, and the sound of the waves which is to become a roar in the following poem seems always to be faintly in our ears. The sense of history and long seasons of time dominates the poem. Two quotations are used as themes: a motto of Mary Queen of Scots, *En ma fin est mon commencement*, and the verses from Ecclesiastes beginning: 'To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven . . .' (Chapter 3¹). Again the methods of reversing the word order, as well as using two or more different meanings for one word, are employed. The poem opens with 'In my beginning is my end', and 'end' can mean both conclusion and purpose.

The imagery is mostly of the countryside in the evening or at night, the old house and wainscot, the loosened window-pane, the tattered arras (echoes of Keats), vans passing in narrow lanes, the early owl, summer midnight, winter lightning, the wild-strawberry, and 'out at sea the dawn wind wrinkles and slides'.

The poem examines the reality to be found in the slowly changing seasons and the rhythm of nature, and is soon driven against the violent contrasts: quiet

countryside and desolate sea, peace and war, light and darkness, orderly seasons and the apparent breaks in them.

The poet begins in the open fields where in the warm evening

*The dahlias sleep in the empty silence.
Wait for the early owl.*

Here he hears the feet of the rustic dancers of a dream-like middle-ages, the never-never land of the romantic medievalists. The beat of the seasons is in their blood. But from the sea comes the dawn wind.

The second movement in its lyric paints the strange time 'out of season'; the spring days in November when the hollyhocks of autumn touch the snow-drops of Spring. Before the mystery of the seasons and life

*The only wisdom we can hope to acquire
Is the wisdom of humility: humility is endless.*

The vision of history disappears in the darkness of the woods,

*The houses are all gone under the sea.
The dancers are all gone under the hill.*

The third movement plays with the theme of darkness, beginning with the idea of darkness carrying all men away, and using Miltonic phrases. (It appears that Mr. Eliot's 'imperfect sympathy' with Milton is passing, and that he is now deeply under his influence.)

*O dark dark dark. They all go into the dark. . . .
I said to my soul, be still and let the dark come unto you.*

But St. John of the Cross and the fourteenth-century author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* have seen the darkness as good, as that which blots out evil and all unessentials, and in the quietness of which we see light. Henry Vaughan in *The Night* had gone even farther:

*There is in God (some say)
A deep, but dazzling darkness; as men here
Say it is late and dusky, because they
See not all clear;
O for that night! Where I in Him
Might live invisible and dim.*

The section ends with the revelation of the darkness and stillness, a revelation which to give its vision of reality uses echoes from *Burnt Norton* as well as *East Coker*.

*Whisper of running streams, and winter lightning.
The wild thyme unseen and the wild strawberry,
The laughter in the garden, echoed ecstasy
Not lost, but requiring, pointing to the agony
Of death and birth.*

The lyric of the fourth movement deals with the passion of Christ who is 'the wounded surgeon' when 'the whole earth is our hospital'.

In the fifth movement the thought again turns to the difficulties of language, when in trying to express reality,

*each venture
Is a new beginning, a raid on the inarticulate
With shabby equipment always deteriorating
Into the general mess of imprecision of feeling
Undisciplined squads of emotion.*

The poem ends with a reiteration of the sense of reality in slowly passing ages as well as in sudden moments of vision, with the slow movement of man into 'a deeper communion'. And the last sentence is the reversal of the first: 'In my end is my beginning.' Implied but not stated is surely the view that this is true because 'I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end'.

The first poem had dealt with the sudden moments of vision, flashes from Air; the second poem with the slow movements and rhythm of the seasons and history and pattern of Earth; now in *The Dry Salvages* we turn to the Water. A group of rocks off Massachusetts with its whistling buoy and warning bell forms the 'text' of the poem, when the sermon is to be about the river of man's personal life and the 'vast seas of time'. During the course of the poem we hear a number of times the sound of the bell, varying in meaning at different stages, and sometimes having several meanings. The bell may be mere warning, John Donne's funeral bell 'which tolls for thee', a bell ringing for worship, the bell in the Mass announcing the presence of Christ. Bells have been mentioned in the two previous poems, but here they become dominant. The Biblical reference is now to the Annunciation, and the lyric is a hymn to the Virgin Mary, who protects sailors. Other important references are to the Indian story of Arjuna and Krishna, and to the Heraclitus analogy that '(in rotation) the beginning and the end are common': 'And the way up is the way down, the way forward is the way back.' In this poem, too, Mr. Eliot stresses more strongly the problems of pain and suffering.

The poem opens with the picture of the great brown Mississippi passing in power down to the sea:

*Time like an ever-rolling stream
Bears all its sons away.*

Then follows the second picture of the roaring seas round the rocks:

THE FOUR QUARTETS RE-EXAMINED

*And the ground swell, that is and was from the beginning,
Clangs
The bell.*

The second movement meditates on the decay and change of human life:

*We cannot think of a time that is oceanless,
Or of an ocean not littered with wastage,
Or of a future that is not liable
Like the past to have no destination.*

Life may appear without purpose

*As making a trip that will be unpayable
For a haul that will not bear examination.*

To the pain and frustration there is no answer, 'only the hardly, barely prayable Prayer of the one Annunciation'.

The nature of time is again considered; it is the destroyer as well as the preserver, it is 'no healer; the patient is no longer here'. A vivid passage follows describing a train journey when the passengers who have said farewell relax into a sleepy rhythm of travel:

*You are not the same people who left the station
Or who will arrive at any terminus.*

As Helen Gardner has said: 'Our real destination is here; where we are going is where we are.' In fact the Kingdom of Heaven is always present, the kingdom is within us.

After the little hymn to the Virgin the poem ends with a description of man's various searches of the eternal and time:

*But to apprehend
The point of intersection of the timeless
With time, is an occupation for the saint.*

'The end of the flux of history is man's response to the eternal.'

For all else

*These are only hints and guesses,
Hints followed by guesses; and the rest
Is prayer, observance, discipline, thought, and action.*

Little Gidding is in every sense the completion of the *Four Quartets*. At the end of the third poem Mr. Eliot has abandoned 'hints and guesses' about reality, and decided that it is to be found fully by prayer and the discipline of devotion.

In this light the ideas of the previous poems are reviewed, the imagery is recalled, and the old tunes reach fuller harmonies in their new setting. This poem is the Fire; fire burns out dross, purges; and fire is the symbol of divine love and of Pentecost.

The title and setting of the poem are extremely important: Little Gidding was the Huntingdonshire village where Nicholas Ferrar founded his religious community in 1625. Here, it is said, King Charles the First came as 'a broken man' by night after the battle of Naseby. When hope and early struggle are ended we come 'Where prayer has been valid'. The period suggests other broken men, Laud and Strafford, who died for their beliefs on the scaffold, and Milton, 'one who died blind and quiet'. Milton has certainly come into his own in Mr. Eliot's estimation; for this poem repeatedly echoes his words and thoughts.

The poem opens with the idea of days out of season which we first met in *East Coker*, that of spring days in mid-winter when 'the brief sun flames the ice'. 'If you came this way' you would come to the end of the journey, not to instruct yourself or carry report, but 'to kneel where prayer has been valid'. Here we find 'the intersection of the timeless moment is England and nowhere. Never and always.'

The lyric of the second movement deals with the death of each of the four elements which have dominated the poems: Air, Earth, Water, and Fire. Phrases and images from each poem are employed, only to be brought to their end. Here is the first verse:

*Ash on an old man's sleeve
Is all the ash the burnt roses leave.
Dust in the air suspended
Marks the place where a story ended.
Dust inbreathed was a house—
The wall, the wainscot, and the mouse.
The death of hope and despair,
This is the death of air.*

Does the verse suggest the ruins of the streets the morning after an air-raid? In the next long movement we find that the poet meets a shadowy figure in the street before dawn. In the face of this stranger he catches 'the look of some dead master'. The meeting suggests the meeting of two fire-watchers during the raids, the chance meeting and intimate contact for the few minutes, and then 'he faded on the blowing of the horn'. There are, of course, obvious references to incidents and lines in Dante and Shakespeare.

The spirit discloses the gifts reserved for age, those of expiring sense, impotent rage at human folly, and the memories of a person past. The sense of sin, 'Of things ill done and done to others' harm', will haunt him. These are the bitter gifts of age 'unless restored by the refining fire'.

In the third movement we find again the ideas of attachment to self and things, of detachment, and indifference. These all must vanish, or must assume another

pattern. For the problem of sin and disintegration Mr. Eliot finds the answer in phrases used by the medieval English mystic, Dame Julian of Norwich. Much troubled by the idea of sin she was granted a vision which said: 'Sin is behovable, but all shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of things shall be well.' For fifteen years she pondered the words and at last was told: 'Wouldst thou learn thy Lord's meaning in this thing? Learn it well. Love was his meaning.' This is the answer that the wrestler discovers in Charles Wesley's great poem, when 'the morning breaks, the shadows flee'. As the stranger disappears he learns that 'Thy nature and Thy name is love'.

Mr. Eliot ends his third movement by references to the men who suffered in the seventeenth century.

*These men and those who opposed them
... are folded in a single party.*

Dame Julian's words suggest the solution.

The fourth movement is a two-verse lyric on the theme of Love and Pentecost:

The dove descending breaks the air.

The last movement, perhaps the high-water mark of Mr. Eliot's achievement, has echoes throughout of Milton's ending to *Samson Agonistes*. As in a great symphony various themes are gathered together and reach their conclusion in certitude and complete harmony. 'The end is where we start from'; the seasons, history, time, and the timeless moment, must reach their consummation.

*We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.*

The old phrases have new meanings; for Love is the key. Men must love, and the fire of the love of God can swallow even the beauty of earthly love. All will be well when all is gathered in love. This is the understanding of all the great religious poets, of Herbert's *Prayer*:

*Church bells beyond the stars heard, the soul's blood,
The land of spices, something understood;*

and of Charles Wesley's vision:

*Mercy that earth and heaven transcends;
Love that o'erwhelms the saints in light,
The length, and breadth, and depth, and height,
Of love divine that never ends.*

When this vision comes, man knows in Milton's words that

*All is best, though we oft doubt
What th' unsearchable dispose
Of highest wisdom brings about
And ever best found in the close.*

And thus 'where silence heightens heaven' Mr. Eliot ends his search:

*At the source of the longest river
The voice of the hidden waterfall
And the children in the apple tree
Now known, because not looked for
But heard, half-heard, in the stillness
Between two waves of the sea.
Quick now, here, now, always—
A condition of complete simplicity
(Costing not less than everything)
And all shall be well and
All manner of things shall be well
When the tongues of flame are in-folded
Into the crowned knot of fire
And the fire and the rose are one.*

T. B. SHEPHERD

THE MODERN HAMLET

IT IS HARDLY possible to think of Aldous Huxley apart from his ancestry. He is a grandson of Thomas Henry Huxley and, on his mother's side, a descendant of Arnold of Rugby; Matthew Arnold was his great-uncle, and he is a nephew of Mrs. Humphrey Ward. To be sprung from such blood may mean, in Wordsworth's phrase, that he has 'titles manifold', but it is a portentous heritage which must, one would think, weigh heavily at times upon his spirit. Seriousness was his birthright, and if he does not (to echo Wordsworth again) hold the faith and morals of Milton, he could hardly escape being much concerned with questions of faith and morals. These, in fact, have been his main preoccupations.

Yet when he was first heard of in the 'twenties, he was one of the bright young intellectuals who seemed to think that the best service they could render society was to cock a snook at the proprieties. My own first acquaintance with him was through *Antic Hay*, which I bought in all innocence one day at a railway bookstall, as light reading for a journey. If its aim was indeed to flabbergast people of my sort, I am bound to admit that he succeeded. I had supposed that I was not squeamish—at any rate as far as literature was concerned—but it seemed to me that this was mere wanton nastiness, like the prurient curiosities of an overgrown schoolboy. At that time of course it was supposed to be a salutary thing to break through sex-taboos and candidly recognize 'the facts of life'; the only thing to be ashamed of was shame itself, and reticence was immoral, a form of mental dishonesty. There was something to be said for this, as long as it was said in the right way; but where Freud and Havelock Ellis were earnestly trying to serve the cause of truth by clearing our minds of cant, and even D. H. Lawrence was preoccupied with sex, not for its own sake, but because he believed it to be the unrecognized root of religious experience, Aldous Huxley seemed to be merely aimless. At that time it was difficult to discover in *Antic Hay* even the beginnings of a philosophy.

It is pretty evident that Huxley's novels are sown freely with biographical clues, though anyone who, like the present writer, lacks proper information, must always be on his guard against building too much upon them. But one thing is perfectly clear. He is a man of exceptional and even excessive intelligence; so much so that he has been driven to distrust intelligence itself. He has thought so much that he does not know what to think. When you understand everything, all possible views become equally plausible, until in the end there is no difference between knowledge and nescience. Huxley has always been haunted by the fear that thinking leads to nothing but a dead end. The suspicion that reason is not to be trusted—what philosophers called scepticism of the instrument—was already at work in his early days, and it is to this that we must look for an explanation both of his frivolity and of his more serious work. He has always been running away from thought, trying, as it were, to shake off that imperious ancestry of his which had endowed him too well with the dangerous legacy of intellect. Like another Hamlet he has felt himself in

danger of being paralysed by the workings of his own mind; he is afraid that excessive awareness and 'thinking too precisely on the event' can lead only to inaction, to endless self-questioning and the bitter penalty of self-contempt. At all costs he must escape from that.

At first he sought refuge in mockery—mockery of people like himself, the over-cultivated in their ivory towers, whose predicament is that they are intelligent enough to realize that they are only half alive. As a corrective they earnestly cultivate 'the saving grace of coarseness', but it is rather like gulping down raw liver as a cure for pernicious anaemia. They are blackguards from a sense of duty, and devoutly remember the Ten Commandments to break them; but since it does not come naturally to them they inevitably overdo it. Their studied vices resemble the enormous false beard which Gumbriel, in *Antic Hay*, gummed on his face to give him a heightened sense of virility; they are exaggerated and ridiculous. Huxley, at the time he was writing that book, described it as 'a Peacockian novel', but judged by that standard it must be regarded as a failure. It falls far short of Peacock's gusto and has little of his healthy Rabelaisian earthliness. Gumbriel himself soon discovers that forbidden fruit means a sour stomach; he is not cut out for the part of the arrogant and predatory male. Already one begins to catch that ominous note of disgust with human nature which, in some of Huxley's later work, suggests a much closer affinity to Swift than to Peacock.

The strongest influence in his life at this period was his friendship with D. H. Lawrence. It is a little difficult to account for the ascendancy which that strange man established over nearly everyone who came in contact with him, but there is no doubt about the impact which he made on the minds of a number of men and women of high intelligence. In that phase of disillusion which followed the First World War, when the old moral imperatives seemed to have gone down in the general ruin and religion was moribund and there was nothing to live for, he alone had something positive to offer—a doctrine which was all the more appealing because it owed nothing to the schools. He rejected intellect, and in doing so opened, as it seemed, a door of escape to just those people who felt that they had been educated to a standstill. There are other and more reliable modes of consciousness waiting to be plumbed, but we can only reach them if we have the courage to let go our hold on the buoys and rafts provided by the educators and sink into the depths that lie below thought. He himself had been through the educational mill—in his youth he had been, as Huxley says, a great passer of examinations—and had come to the conclusion that it was dark and Satanic. The discursive intellect is like nothing so much as an old curiosity shop, all cluttered up with pretentious junk—bits-and-pieces of acquired information and a medley of worn-out notions, mostly fakes; you trip over them at every step and make no headway at all. One of the most misleading of all the notions inculcated by our pastors and teachers is a suspicion of the body and a belief that its vital impulses must be curbed, thwarted, and where possible denied, in the interests of what is said to be the higher life. The idols of the intellect demand that the body shall be immolated like a sacrificial beast; they will be appeased with nothing less than blood. This, he declared, is a superstition, a perversion of nature; and it is rooted, like so many morbid beliefs, in a pathological hatred of life. He assailed it with all the fury

of a prophet crying out against the high places. If we deny the body we are lost, for it is in the cells of the body that the fruits of experience are stored up, and there is no substitute for the dark wisdom of the blood. 'My great religion', he wrote, 'is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what the blood feels, and believes, and says, is always true.'

The appeal which these doctrines made to the young intellectuals of that time may be understood, perhaps, when we consider that they enabled them to make the best of several worlds. Those—Huxley himself was one of them—who had been brought up in habits of scientific thought, perceived that Lawrence was saying in his own way what the new psychology was now teaching, and not only teaching but demonstrating clinically. The investigation of morbid psychology had justified his intuitive perception that we ignore the body and deny its rights at our peril; to drive the instinctive life underground is only to set it conspiring against us, until in the end it rises in revolt and destroys our peace of mind. Thus the cult of irrationality was seen to be justified on rational grounds—a beguiling paradox. Again, his doctrine of the awareness of the body, apart altogether from the intellect, and the sort of sensuous mysticism which he based upon it, appealed strongly to those who craved for the release and enlargement given by religious experience, but who wanted it without the ethical conditions which orthodox religion insists upon. In India, which Huxley had visited after leaving Oxford (he is a much-travelled man), he had seen that religion can flourish in dissociation from ethics, and even that states of religious ecstasy can be induced by a sort of sacramental sensuality—as, for example, under the system of temple prostitution. One of the striking features of his work, as it is also of the work of Mr. Charles Morgan, is a blending—a distasteful blending—of mysticism with sexuality; in this respect both of them probably are disciples of Lawrence. Huxley quite certainly is.

Yet Huxley could never be quite at home in that sub-mental world for which Lawrence had so genuine a nostalgia. After all, he was a product of Eton and Balliol, with a mind trained severely into habits of clear thinking and exact knowledge. It is only necessary to compare his resourceful and expressive prose with the rhapsodical style of Lawrence to realize that they belong to different blood-groups. Although he writes novels he is essentially an essayist, and in the novels themselves there is always a good deal of essay-matter, usually introduced by means of some character who, like Meredith's 'wise youth', serves as the mouthpiece of his comments and reflections. He is more interested in ideas than in people—it is notable that nearly all the people in the novels are incarnations of some idea. They embody a particular method of living which, since they are highly conscious persons, they have adopted deliberately and are ready at all times to expound and defend. By this means he is able to use the novel for his own particular purpose, which is to allow his intelligence to range freely among the many ways in which the business of living may be carried on, seeking to gain a comprehension of them all, yet remaining all the time outside and uncommitted, the detached onlooker who sees more of the game than those who elect to take part in it. This is the attitude of Philip Quarles in *Point Counter Point*, in whom, it is safe to guess,

Huxley has drawn something of a self-portrait. 'The essence of the new way of looking', says Quarles, reflecting on his own work as a novelist, 'is multiplicity, multiplicity of eyes and multiplicity of aspects seen. . . . What I want to do is to look with all these eyes at once. With religious eyes, scientific eyes, economic eyes, *homme moyen sensuel* eyes.' 'It was so easy for him to be almost anybody theoretically and with his intelligence. . . . He had been a cynic and also a mystic, a humanitarian and also a contemptuous misanthrope, he had tried to live the life of detached and stocial reason and another time he had aspired to the unreasonableness of natural and uncivilized existence.'

Yet Huxley is well aware that intelligence is not enough. Unlike Browning's Grammarian, he can never quite bring himself to decide 'not to live but know'. If you are indeed 'dead from the waist down', if the sensibilities and affections which are the springs of action are all used up in the incessant workings of the mind, the resulting paralysis of feeling must, in the end, be fatal to your work—that is, if you are a creative artist, and not simply a grammarian. 'Ah, if you were a little less of an overman, Phil,' says Elinor, Quarles's wife, 'what good novels you'd write!'; and Philip knows that it is true. Then too there is Burlap—he also warns him against the danger of letting the heart dry up, and Burlap 'specializes in the heart'. Only, Burlap is himself a warning that too much heart can be every bit as bad as too much head. Philip knows the fellow, knows what tricks he plays upon himself and how unscrupulously he exploits his nice feelings, using them as a cover for all sorts of mental dishonesties and moral quirks. He is that worst kind of hypocrite, the sort of man who deceives himself; he is gifted with the ability to secrete good sentiments on all occasions and, like the oyster, make pearls out of his very faults. . . . So that restless intellect bores and probes incessantly into human motives, until every possible mode of living is worm-eaten with criticism.

Point, counterpoint—all life, all thought, is just that. One view is stated, and then, just when it has been developed, another and contrasted view emerges to be balanced against it. In this book Huxley has made a technical experiment of great interest; he calls it 'the musicalization of the novel'. He has made a profound study of music, and he has attempted to construct the story on the pattern of a symphony, with modulations from one theme to another, weaving them together in endless combinations of harmony and contrast. There is therefore no 'plot' in the ordinary sense, no progress and no conclusion, only incidents, episodes, seen in the shifting lights that play over them from the minds of the men and women who participate. There is, it is true, one incident that has the quality of violent action, the murder of Everard, the Fascist leader, by Spandrell and the little proletarian scientist Illidge; it seems curiously pointless. One gets the impression that, like the murderous moments of Hamlet, it is simply a blind lunge made for no other purpose than to break off thinking and get something *done*, no matter what.

Music, however, is but one of Huxley's many interests. It is said that he would have chosen a scientific career like his brother Julian but for his defective eyesight—he has long been threatened with blindness. Even as it is he has more than an amateur's knowledge of biology, and it was almost inevitable therefore that, as a writer of fiction, he should turn his attention to the questions that are raised by a study of the biological basis of human behaviour. Like Hamlet

again, he is fascinated by the irony that man, 'the paragon of animals', is so totally unable to slough off his animality; that if he is like an angel he is also, and more consistently, like a satyr, or like an ape; that the immortal soul is conditioned by the working of bodily functions, so that a religious insight may be darkened by a gastric disorder, and reason toppled from its throne by the failure of a gland. The successful experiments already made in the field of genetics suggest that a similar control may some day be established over human personality, so that it will be possible to condition the minds of men according to a predetermined plan, and deliberately produce human types in such numbers and proportions as may be judged desirable. Thus the politicians' dream of a planned society would be carried to its logical conclusion. The haphazard methods of Nature would be superseded; instead of having to rely on chance and the accidents of birth, human reproduction would be controlled by scientific foresight and calculation. The functions of the human body would be taken over by the chemist and men would be gestated in a test-tube and bred in a laboratory.

This is the nightmare vision that is conjured up in *Brave New World*, a book which is said to have filled H. G. Wells with anger—as well it might. For Huxley was turning his own technique of scientific forecasting to a use which flatly contradicted his most cherished hopes. Wells was not unaware that science could be turned to evil uses as well as good, but it was a possibility which he preferred to ignore. He believed in progress, and science, obviously, was the chief instrument of progress in the modern world; any tendency to abuse it that might arise could, he assured himself, be checked and corrected by education. Huxley could not share his confidence. The tree of the knowledge of good was also the tree of the knowledge of evil, and human nature being what it is, it was almost certain that men would prefer the evil to the good. In fact, that was exactly how things were working out. 'Progress' in Russia meant the progressive dehumanization of mankind, the creation of a termite society in which the individuals had functions but no rights—least of all the right to think for themselves. And if, as seemed only too likely, Hitler made himself the master of Germany (the book was published in 1932) he could be depended on to make short work of any awkward manifestations of independence or opposition. The most frightful possibility that confronted men in the modern world was, in fact, the capitulation of the scientist to the political boss. Of all the patrons of science, the most munificent is Mars. In any future war the decisive battles would take place far behind the fighting-line. They would be battles of brains, fought in laboratories and on drawing-boards, between chemists and technicians, mathematicians and physicists. The war of 1914-18 was only a foretaste of what that would mean. Wells had persuaded himself that as men gained the mastery over Nature the old promise would be fulfilled, and they would be as gods; to Huxley, it seemed much more likely that the sense of power would go to their heads and turn them into devils.

The bitter gaiety of the 'twenties had by this time given way to a very different mood; it was no longer possible for Gumbriel to sport with Amaryllis in the shade of a false beard. The menace of war was spreading across the world like a thunder-cloud and could not be ignored. On this question at least—the question of peace or war—Huxley knew his own mind, and felt that he could do

better than merely toss ideas into the air like a juggler playing with billiard balls. How was peace to be preserved? The pacifism of the universities and the Peace Pledge Union would not do—it was altogether too naïve; war would not be averted by a unilateral refusal to fight. Peace demanded a sustained effort of moral creativeness everywhere. The blessing is for the peace *makers*—the creators of peace.

In *Ends and Means* (1937), his most important book of this period, he sought to indicate the nature of the moral effort that is required, and to lay down the lines that it must follow. Broadly, the argument may be summed up in that saying of the Frenchman *Enfantin* which so delighted Richard Cobden: 'If you would preserve peace, prepare for *peace*.'¹ It is folly and worse than folly—it is hypocrisy—to say that you will the end if you do not also will the means. Huxley analyses the motives, personal and political, which make wars unavoidable, and endeavours to show how they may be overcome. What he pleads for is, quite literally, a reorientation of the Western mind, for it is in Eastern modes of thought that he sees the better way. He contrasts the will-worship of the Western world—the egotism, the self-assertiveness, the competitive greeds and rivalries—with the mystical temper of the east, and argues that we can never be at peace, either with ourselves or with our fellow-men, until we achieve a similar release from personal cravings. The expression that he himself uses to indicate the spirit he would have men cultivate is 'non-attachment'. 'The ideal man is the non-attached man. Non-attached to his bodily sensations and lusts. Non-attached to his cravings for power and possessions. Non-attached to the objects of these various desires. Non-attached to his anger and hatred; non-attached to his exclusive loves. Non-attached to wealth, fame, social position. Non-attached even to science, art, speculation, philanthropy.' This is not a negative ideal, like crude pacifism; it demands a creative effort. It must be strenuously practised in personal life, it must be fostered by groups of like-minded people, and so by degrees spread through human society.

The book attracted a good deal of attention, but with all his earnestness and sincerity Huxley could never be a successful propagandist. He is too aloof by temperament to drive his message home. For the matter of that, the message itself has a touch of aloofness which is more calculated to chill than to quicken and arouse; if there is a distinction between non-attachment and mere detachment, it is too fine to catch the public eye. What is more, though he certainly believes in his message, he does not sufficiently believe in himself. There is a revealing passage in another book of this period, *Eyeless in Gaza*, which betrays that devastating habit of self-criticism which, one feels, must always disqualify him for effective action. 'The facility with which one could become a Stiggins in modern dress! A much subtler, and therefore more detestable, more dangerous Stiggins. . . . I found myself talking about peace as a way of life as well as an international policy—the way of life being the condition of any policy that had the least hope of being permanently successful. . . . There I was, discoursing in a really masterly way about the spiritual life, and taking intense pleasure in that mastery—when all at once I realized who I was: Stiggins.' The Hamlet touch again, it will be noticed; and that is not the stuff out of which prophets are made.

¹ Lord Morley, *The Life of Cobden*.

In any case, Huxley made no attempt to put his programme into effect. Even before the publication of *Ends and Means* he withdrew to America, where he has remained ever since. There, in the solitude of the Mojave Desert in California, he began to practise in earnest that life of contemplation and mystical experience which, he was now convinced, is the truly good life. The only knowledge worth having is of the realities which lie below the phenomenal world, and these cannot be grasped by the methods of reason. Religion has always taught that there is another mode of consciousness which is perfectly valid; that knowledge of the timeless world is gained not by active thought but by direct intuition. It is only when the mind is stilled, so that the shapes of spiritual realities form in it like images of great mountains in the mirror of an unruffled lake, that we can ever hope to apprehend them. Testimony to this fact is borne by all the great religions of the world, though in the case of Christianity the pure ray of intuitive knowledge is darkened by the intrusion of a rational element in the form of dogma, and still further obscured by the vast paraphernalia of ecclesiastical organization in which it is enclosed. He finds it at its best in the formless religions of the East, in Hinduism and the teachings of the Buddha and of Lao-tzu, which are to be preferred to Christianity for the very reason that they are not capable of being formulated. What is more, he seems to be suspicious of the ethical side of Christianity, since ethics is concerned with the active life of conduct, and activity he holds to be the enemy of contemplation.

The books in which he has given fullest expression to these ideas are three: *Grey Eminence* (1941), *The Perennial Philosophy* (1946), and *Time Must Have a Stop* (1948). The first is a biography of the Capuchin monk who was the adviser and accomplice of Richelieu, and contrived, apparently without any misgivings of conscience, to combine the practice of a profoundly mystical personal religion with the most cynical arts of *realpolitik*. The second is a restatement of his doctrine of non-attachment, and takes the form of an *omnium gatherum* of mystical writings assembled from a very wide field, together with his own comments and expositions, and directions concerning the spiritual disciplines to be practised by the would-be adept. In the third book he returned to the novel-form, with a story that brings out the contrast between the life of non-attachment and the greedy egotism which craves, until death and even—in the case of an earth-bound ghost—beyond death, after the indulgence of every animal satisfaction. In this book he gives free rein to that mingled fascination and repulsion with which he has always regarded the functions of the human body.

The Second World War, with its appalling climax in the atom-bomb, bore out all his worst forebodings. Science had surrendered to power-politics. It was impossible ever again to regard it with complacency; it had become the servile instrument of the basest passions of human nature. 'What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form, in moving, how express and admirable!'—yes, but today we must amend our Shakespeare; in action, how like a demon! in apprehension, how like the Fiend!

No bitterness is so acrid as that of an idealist gone sour. Huxley's latest book, *Ape and Essence*, is a corrosive commination launched against the human race. It presents a picture of the post-atomic age in which the survivors of civilization,

a hideous remnant deformed in body and in soul, accept the final triumph of evil over good. God is overthrown, the government is on the shoulders of Belial, and his will is done in earth even as it is in hell. The book is written in the form of a film-script, and in the preliminary 'shots' we are given Huxley's estimate of mankind as they are today—baboons with all the resources of science at their disposal. The predicament of science in the contemporary world is represented under the symbol of two captive Einsteins, dragged about in chains by the apes who are their masters, and compelled under the lash to devise ways of harnessing the forces of Nature to their malevolence. In the subsequent scenes he has improved, it may be supposed, on the speculation in Macaulay's essay on Von Ranke, that a day might come in the distant future 'when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's'. The world has been laid waste by a final war in which every device of mass destruction—poison gas, the atomic bomb, bacteriological infection—has been used without restriction. Four generations later a scientific expedition sent out from New Zealand, which alone had escaped destruction, lands in America, where the radio-active gases have at last begun to disperse. The rest of the book is a 'roving camera' report of what they found—a society given up, body and soul, to evil. There has been nothing like it in English imaginative literature since *Gulliver*. If anything, Huxley outdoes Swift; it is as though misanthropy were projected with a flame-thrower.

The moral is pointed by a Narrator—thus: 'Love casts out fear; but conversely fear casts out love. And not only love. Fear also casts out intelligence, casts out goodness, casts out all thought of beauty and truth. . . . And fear, my good friends, fear is the very basis and foundation of modern life. Fear of the much-touted technology which, while it raises our standard of living, increases the probability of our violently dying. Fear of the science which takes away with one hand even more than it so profusely gives with the other. Fear of the demonstrably fatal institutions for which, in our suicidal loyalty, we are ready to kill and die. Fear of the Great Men whom we have raised, by popular acclaim, to a power which they use, inevitably, to murder and enslave us. Fear of the War we don't want and yet do everything we can to bring about.'

Fear, it may be added, of intelligence. Huxley has always had that fear in his heart. He has proved in himself that to understand too much and too well may lead in the end to nothing but negation and despair. He has sought a refuge from thought in some act of faith with a surer basis than the shifting sands of the restless intellect, and he believed he had found it in the mysticism of the East; but the storm of events has blown with a violence and fury that has caused that anchor to drag. The despair with which he contemplates a world which now seems derelict and whirling toward the final plunge is a projection of his despair of himself. One thinks of Horatio's farewell to Hamlet: 'Now cracks a noble heart. Good night, sweet prince.'

W. S. HANDLEY JONES

Ecumenical Survey

COMMUNICATED THROUGH THE REV. PHILIP S. WATSON, M.A.

METHODISM IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF AUSTRALIA

METHODIST union in Australia was achieved fifty years ago. After careful preparation the Wesleyan, Primitive, and United Methodist Churches became the Methodist Church of Australasia. Today the union is fully consummated and a generation has arisen which has known nothing other than a united Methodism. As a result of the achievement of unity Methodism in Australia is now a national Church with its witness established right across the Commonwealth.

GENERAL RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN AUSTRALIA

Christian witness in Australia began slowly and under considerable difficulties. It is interesting to recall that it was only through the agitation of William Wilberforce that the British Government agreed to reverse its decision not to send a chaplain with the first convict fleet to Botany Bay. On arrival little encouragement was given officially to the Church and for five years services of public worship were held in the open air. The first Christian Church in Australia was only built because the chaplain paid for its erection out of his own pocket. It cost him £67 12s. 11½d. to erect. Twenty years later there was still only one Christian minister in the colony.

Only slowly did the Church establish itself in the growing Australian community. It so happened that in our beginnings there was no pouring into our life of the riches of a God-conscious period of English history. 'Australia', writes Professor Hancock, 'is predominately a Christian country but has not inherited the Christianity of the crusading or the covenanting age: she has inherited the more reasonable Christianity of a less passionate age.'

Beginning in this way the religious life of Australia has been carried forward without great enthusiasm. Australia has never known a religious revival—the sub-soil of the continent, as it were, never having been soaked with the flood waters of righteousness. But faithful and painstaking work has dotted a vast land with churches until today there is no community of people which has not its place of worship, and no centre that has not moving through it the ministry of one of the Churches.

In the short history of Australia three things have greatly influenced the national consciousness: they have been war, depression, war. In the First World War it is claimed that Australia was born as a nation. Nationalism certainly came alive in those bitter years, but it is one of the tragedies of our people that it is around war that the most powerful emotional organization has taken place. Of greater significance was the depression of the early thirties. Bishop Burgmann has said: 'Nothing has ever cut so deeply into the soul of the nation as the Great Depression. It completed the disillusionment which came following the high idealism of war. It sowed great mistrust in the hearts of great multitudes.' The effect of the Second World War is still working itself out in a first real

breach of parochialism and the dawning realization of Australia's place in the Pacific region and beyond.

The Christian Church in Australia is expressed in the main through four branches of the Church Catholic. The predominating influence is the Church of England, which today, according to the last census returns, has the allegiance of 39 per cent of the population. The Roman Catholic Church has 20·7 per cent, the Methodist Church 11·5 per cent, and the Presbyterian 9·8 per cent. Other denominations are small: the Baptists having 1·4 per cent, the Church of Christ ·9 per cent, and the Congregational Church ·8 per cent. Statistics show that the various Churches have more or less retained their place over the years of this century in relation to each other and to the community as a whole. However, across our large distances variations in strength are to be found. For example, Methodism is strongest in South Australia, where it holds the allegiance of perhaps a third of the people, while Roman Catholicism has its largest constituency in Queensland.

Although there is no State Church in Australia it is important to remember the preponderant position of the Church of England in the eyes of the people, and the well-organized power of the Roman Catholic Church. Also, in Australia as elsewhere, a considerable section has developed that regards itself as living beyond the Churches. In the last census this group totalled 10·8 per cent.

METHODISM IN AUSTRALIA

Methodism in Australia began through the witness of local preachers and laymen who established a Methodist class in Sydney. They later petitioned the British Conference to send a minister, and from this simple beginning in the heart of the penal settlement of Sydney has grown a great Church. Methodism is well distributed right across the continent and has built itself churches and institutions in every State and city.

The 1947 census returns revealed that there are almost 900,000 Methodists in Australia. Between the census of 1933 and 1947 Methodism was ahead of all Churches in the rate of its proportional increase, reaching a gain of 27·4 per cent. In 1948 the official membership of the Church was 143,393. The number of ordained ministers was 923, while hundreds of probationers and home missionaries are also at work. There are 2,656 Methodist churches in the Commonwealth and 132,738 children attend Sunday-school.

Methodism has established an impressive series of schools, hospitals, homes for the aged, and philanthropic institutions of all kinds. Today no less than twenty-five schools are under the Methodist Church, some of them having become the great public schools of the land. Each State capital city has its Methodist hospital, while in our universities vigorous Methodist colleges carry on a vital witness. Also around our central mission has grown a cluster of institutions which are meeting the various needs of the people and are carrying on a magnificent public service. In South Australia Methodism has its own string of radio stations, while in New South Wales it shares control of another broadcasting unit.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of Australian Methodism is the witness to the people of the far out-back through the Australian Inland Mission.

Founded in 1916, the Inland Mission has eleven agents set down at strategic points in inland Australia equipped with patrol vans and in two cases with aeroplanes. These men have developed the 'patrol technique' and move over thousands of miles of sparsely populated country taking the Christian Message to lonely settlers. One of these men has a 'circuit' the area of England and Wales together. There is no greater story to be told of Methodist witness in Australia than this taking of the Gospel to our 'never-never land'.

Australian Methodism through its missionary society has accepted responsibility for the Islands of the Pacific and is at work among the Australian Aborigines and in India. After a century of witness hundreds of thousands of people are in fellowship with the Methodist Church, and the simple fact is that there are now more Methodists on the mission-fields evangelized by Australian Methodism than are to be found in the home Church. Missionary enthusiasm continues—for recently the decision was made to open up a totally new area in central New Guinea, where the recent war disclosed 300,000 unevangelized native people.

Methodism is playing a tremendous part in the life of the people. As was shown in earlier American history, Methodist machinery is particularly suitable to pioneering conditions. Its strong connexionalism enables it to cope with far distances and sparsely populated areas. The Methodist Church shows features that are characteristic wherever Methodism is to be found. At its heart is evangelical passion, as is shown by the three-year 'Crusade for Christ' which is at present being carried forward across the entire country. There is warmth of fellowship, vigour in social witness, and a great determination to place the Christian Gospel at the heart of a young and rapidly growing country.

RE-UNION DEVELOPMENTS

'We affirm our conviction that the Holy Spirit is calling the Churches to express in organic union the unity of the Faith, in order effectively to preach the reconciling grace of God.' In this resolution the last General Conference of the Methodist Church reaffirmed its attitude toward Church union, an attitude which it has constantly held since its own Unification Conference of 1904. Throughout this period Methodism in Australia has been in constant conversation with one or other of the Churches in an effort to discover a road toward the reunion of the broken Body of Christ.

Reunion discussions over the last fifty years have taken place in three main ways. There has been a determined effort for an organic union to be achieved between the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches of Australia. Intercommunion conversations have been undertaken, in particular with the Anglican Church, and important proposals have emerged; and more recently the whole World Council of Churches Movement has become firmly established among the Churches, with Methodism taking a leading part in its life.

At the first General Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia in 1904 the Methodist Church declared that 'the time has fully come when the question of the closer union of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches should be seriously considered with a view to their ultimate organic union'. With this declaration specific approaches were made to the Presbyterian

Church and later to the Congregational Church. From this beginning a long series of vigorous discussions took place over the years. Resolutions passed at the General Conference show the rise and fall of hopes and fears of those who looked earnestly toward reunion. At one stage it looked as if a united Church made up of these three denominations, such as has been achieved in Canada, would soon appear in the Australian scene.

An actual basis of union was hammered out in 1907 and was carried forward until a vote was taken in 1920 of the various Church courts. The Methodist Church at its District Synods found that 1,052 of its Synod delegates were in favour of the proposed union, 478 were against, and 47 neutral. In the Congregational Union of Australia, 85 votes were cast in favour of union and 4 against. But in the Presbyterian State Assemblies, while 236 voted for the union, there was a vote of a 100 against the scheme. As a result of this the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1924 passed the following resolution: 'We believe it is inadvisable to press forward to organic union in view of the divided state of feeling and opinion among the office-bearers and people of the Presbyterian Church, and we recommend that the Union Committee be discharged.'

The attitude of the Presbyterian Church brought to an end any real discussion of an organic union between these three Churches. The reason for the failure was not on doctrine, but on questions of polity and—sad as it is to record it—because of property interests.

Since 1924 suggestions have been made that the Methodist and Congregational Churches should go ahead alone; but in view of the smallness of the Congregational Church, and the fact that it scarcely exists outside a few main cities in Australia, this has not been favoured and is unlikely to be seriously considered. The only move in recent years came from the Presbyterian Church, which suggested a scheme of Federal Union which allowed denominational sovereignty to remain unimpaired. With some hesitation the Methodist Church agreed to explore this new opening, only to find that as suggestions took practical shape the Presbyterian Church again turned away from them and at its recent Assembly closed even this door. All this means that today organic union between the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches is as far away as ever and cannot be regarded as coming within the realm of immediate practical possibility.

The Methodist Church of Australasia, in spite of a small opposing minority, has shown itself to be consistently committed to the ideal of reunion. Questions, however, may be asked as to the foundation of Methodist convictions about the Methodist contribution to any union of Churches. There is a strange resolution that was passed in 1932 at the Methodist General Conference. It read: 'Conference expresses its willingness to discuss the question of Church union with any Church which desires to do so.' This perhaps discloses a somewhat vague allegiance to the general idea of union without full realization of what it may mean. There are some who are convinced that there is need for the Methodist Church to strengthen its confessional witness, to become clear about the motives with which it enters into union discussions and the contribution which it may finally make to any reunion of the Churches.

The claim which has often been made that Methodism is a 'bridge Church', is perhaps well illustrated by the discussions on inter-communion with the

Anglican Church, which have proceeded concurrently with the negotiations over the organic union with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. Thus it can be said that Methodism in Australia has relations on the one hand with the catholic and on the other with the reformed tradition; and while organic unity with the Church of England in Australia has never been discussed formerly, the importance of the intercommunion discussions must be emphasized.

It was in April 1937 that a National Missionary Conference was held in Sydney. It was composed of representatives of all the principal non-Roman missionary agencies working in the Pacific. During this session the problem of intercommunion in mission areas was raised. Years before, through the National Missionary Council, there had been a division of spheres of missionary activity in Papua, but because natives from the Anglican Mission district had moved into the London Missionary Society and Methodist Missionary Society areas, Anglican ministers were entering to administer the Sacraments to them. The unhappy nature of this development troubled missionary leaders and the matter was raised at this conference. As a result a committee was set up to investigate the possibility of forming a united Church in the Pacific. But realizing how protracted discussions on the question of a united Church would be, the Methodist Missionary leader, Dr. J. W. Burton, suggested that some immediate attempt should be made to obviate the problem which had arisen in Papua.

It was this situation which provoked serious intercommunion discussions, which have continued ever since. The problem was soon seen to be not one of the Sacraments but of the Ministry. Thus it was realized that the crux of the issue lay in the attitude of the Churches and especially of the Church of England to ordination. It was clear that there was an important difference in attitude in that all the other Churches engaged in the discussions did not question the validity of Anglican Orders, but that the Anglican Church had difficulty over accepting the validity of the ordination of non-Anglican ministers. As time went on it became clear that there was little hope of overcoming the problem either by way of absorption, that is by the Episcopal reordination of non-Episcopalian ministers, or by the mutual recognition by the Churches of the status of each other's ministries. It seemed, should no third way open up, that the problem would remain insoluble. It was, however, from the Lambeth Conference of 1920 that a clue for future discussions was supplied. The Lambeth suggestion was in effect that those denominations desiring fuller fellowship with one another should agree to an exchange of ministerial commissions. But the commission to be bestowed by Episcopalians would necessarily be by way of episcopal ordination, and herein was the difficulty. This seemed to suggest that episcopal ordination would involve the repudiation of previously held convictions about ordination. The Sydney committee on intercommunion realized that the Lambeth proposals had virtually failed in their purpose, and yet wondered whether there was not some way of surmounting the obstacle that remained in the path.

It was from this point that discussions proceeded. It was asked whether there could not be devised some formula of commissioning which could be regarded as giving to those over whom it was used all that any should desire. After

much searching the Archbishop of Brisbane produced a formula which became accepted. It read: 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the wider exercise of thy ministry in the Church, take thou authority to preach the Word of God and to minister Christ's Sacraments, in fulfilment of the ministry of reconciliation in the congregations whereunto thou shalt be further called or regularly appointed; and see that thou stir up the grace bestowed upon thee in the Call of God and by the laying-on-of-hands.'

In a remarkable way this formula became accepted by all present in this committee. The story of the negotiations has been written by the Bishop of Newcastle, Bishop De Will Batty, for world consideration. The proposals of the intercommunion group are being used by those discussing reunion in Canada, and while nowhere has there been authoritative acceptance of these proposals they make a useful contribution to the whole discussion of reunion questions.

For a number of years Methodism in Australia has been involved in Faith and Order discussions through a commission that was centred in Victoria. It was in February 1946, however, that the World Council of Churches can be said to have come to Australia. It was then that official delegates, fifty in number, of the non-Roman Churches of Australia met for the first Assembly of the Australian Council for the World Council of Churches. Now, after four years, the Australian Council is a securely established feature of Australian religious life and is growing in the affection of the people and in the confidence of the Churches. The Australian Council is made up of the Church of England, the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, the Church of Christ, the Salvation Army, and the Religious Society of Friends. The Baptist and Lutheran Churches send observers to the meetings but have yet officially to accept affiliation. The Australian Council for the World Council of Churches is thus a new fact in the religious life of Australia. The headquarters of the Australian Council is established in Sydney with a full-time general secretary. It has its various commissions such as those on Faith and Order, International Affairs, Evangelism, and Immigration, which are distributed around the various Australian capitals. It is already recognized by the Federal Government as the unit of contact for relations between the Government and the Churches. It has a great future before it as it provides the Australian Churches for the first time with a medium for joint Australia-wide action.

Methodism in Australia thus has an honourable record in reunion discussions and history. It has shown a catholicity of spirit and a readiness to lose itself if new life may come for the sake of the witness of Christ's Church and the Australian people. Today it is convinced that for the time being it is the will of God that it should carry on distinctive and separate witness throughout the Commonwealth, but has left the door open should the Spirit of God direct the Churches to move forward toward organic union or greater co-ordination of action and witness. At present it is true to say that the Methodist Church of Australia, committed as it is to the Australian Council for the World Council of Churches, is prepared to co-operate fully with other Christian Churches and to wait for what God may further do through the World Council Movement in leading His Church to that unity for which Christ prayed when He asked His Father that 'all may be one'.

ALAN WALKER

METHODISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

(Continued from page 166, April 1950.)

III. EVANGELISM AND EDUCATION

FOR half a century and more a mass movement has been taking place in South African Methodism, so steady and constant that it has never been regarded as abnormal. Since the establishment of the South African Conference in 1888, Methodism has multiplied its membership fifteen times, and has been increasing at an average rate of 10,000 members a year for the past twenty years.

When all necessary adjustments are made to relate statistics to the realities of the situation, there nevertheless remains remarkable evidence of a steady increase which must be attributed to regular evangelism rather than to periodic revival.

Our early missionaries placed all succeeding generations in their debt by their linguistic researches which have enabled them to preach the Gospel to the African in his own language. In most areas now the pioneer European missionary has been replaced by the African Superintendent so that the evangelizing of the African people is now largely in the hands of the Africans themselves.

The effects of this have been impossible to assess with the accuracy that a sociological survey would demand. Very few Europeans therefore are aware of the debt which the entire community owes to the vast army of Methodist ministers, evangelists, local preachers, and Bible-women who have kept central in their preaching Christ and Him crucified, at a time when a thousand ephemeral sects have sprouted up in response to the preaching of racialism and nationalism. If all our African preachers were to become prophets of Bantu nationalism, the result would be a catastrophe of unpredictable magnitude.

In European circuits, during the past year, ministers have undertaken their own evangelistic campaigns with encouraging results; week-end camps are becoming more numerous and more effective for evangelism among young people; and Dr. W. E. Sangster's consistent and powerful advocacy of Evangelism has not fallen on unheeding ears in this land. Dr. J. B. Webb therefore chose evangelism as the theme for all his Presidential addresses at the Grahams-town Conference of 1949.

One fact revealed by the 1936 census is that the largest percentage increase in membership was recorded by the Apostolic Faith Mission.* Its membership is recruited primarily among Afrikaners, and its evangelists make a vigorous assault upon the emotions, stressing speaking with tongues in particular. Though the Dutch Reformed Church has welcomed visiting evangelists of standing, all three Dutch Reformed Churches have rigidly set their faces against the Apostolic Faith Mission and its methods. The success of this sect, despite its extravagances, and in the face of powerful disapproval of the Dutch

* The preceding paragraphs are taken from the writer's article in *A Missionary Review*, published by the Missionary Department of the Methodist Church of South Africa.

Reformed group, is a clear indication that the Afrikaner will respond to evangelism.

Methodism has never invaded the Afrikaner community with aggressive evangelism, but our ministers who work in areas where Afrikaners are numerous report that a rising percentage of new members prepared and received now bear Afrikaans names. During the war, many Afrikaners found themselves spiritually homeless, being treated as aliens by those of their own ministers who were opposed to the war effort. Of such people, some have turned to Methodism. If the situation should develop to any considerable extent that spiritually disinherited Afrikaners appealed to Methodism, it would be most difficult to withhold our ministries and our fellowship.

The remarkable figures of Methodist increases referred to above do not blind us to the fact that 68 per cent of those who returned themselves as Methodists in the 1936 census had 'ceased to meet'. This merits careful investigation, and any explanation advanced at this stage is little more than hypothesis. The fact, however, that young people commonly arrive at membership classes after years at Sunday-school with scanty knowledge of the Bible and of our Catechism suggests that Decision Days and Anniversaries cannot make up for defective Sunday-school teaching.

Further, there is evidence that we have been inclined to make an evangelical flavour a substitute for worship in our services. Happily there is yet other evidence that we have become aware of this. A rediscovery of our unpossessed possessions in Christian worship, a restoration to the Sacraments of equal dignity with the Sermon, a revolution in Church architecture which gives the most honoured place not to the organ pipes, but to the most sacred symbols of our holy Faith, are encouraging signs that we are coming to know that roots are essential to fruits.

'When our people are converted, the first thing they ask for is schools,' said Owen Watkins. Reporting to the 1949 Conference upon the Government Commission on Education, the deputation stated:

The Methodist Church of South Africa has been engaged in Native Education for over a century. This work was started by the early missionaries without Government assistance. As schools became more numerous Government aid on a slowly increasing scale was provided, until in 1948 the Methodist Church was co-operating with the various (Provincial) Education Departments in 1,312 Primary Schools with 3,546 Teachers and 168,708 scholars; and 26 High, Secondary, Training or Industrial Schools with 270 Teachers and 7,062 Scholars.

The names of our fifteen educational institutions make a revealing commentary upon our history. Some of them are named after outstanding Europeans from British or South African Methodism. Such are Healdtown, Clarkebury, Shawbury, Buntingville, Bensonvale, Kilnerton, Palmerton, Lamplough, Nuttall, and Osborn. Others commemorate African Chiefs such as Moroka and Faku. Others again bear African names, Indaleni, Nqabara, and, most recent of all, Boitshoko.

From these Institutions we send out annually a great proportion of the African teachers who staff the schools of the Union, and students who have received instruction in a wide range of trades and skills, agriculture, building,

carpentering, tailoring, leatherwork, tinsmithing, domestic science, and dressmaking.

Students travel great distances to these institutions, and are maintained there at great strain upon slender African resources, while the Church co-operates by keeping costs as low as is practicable with efficiency, and by assistance in certain cases.

The one Institution for African Higher Education is the South African Native College at Fort Hare. Here we are represented by Wesley House, where, after migrations from Healdtown and Lesseyton, our African ministry is trained, and other students are prepared for their careers as teachers or in other spheres of Government service.

Among European educational institutions, our three connexional schools, Kingswood and Kearsney for boys and Epworth for girls, rank high. At the Cape, where there is the greatest concentration of Coloured people, our Wesley Training College for teachers and our Practising Schools are doing excellent work.

In the training of Evangelists and in the sphere of African education no one has rendered greater service to the Church than has the Rev. E. W. Grant, our ex-President. From his wide knowledge in these two spheres, he has written:

Zeal without knowledge is heat without light. Knowledge without zeal is form without life. Alone they may become the two extremes of ineffectiveness. Meeting and fusing in the same personality, zeal and knowledge become material upon which the Spirit of God may effectively work, the instrument through which God may powerfully speak.⁹

IV. ECUMENISM

For twenty-five years the question of Church Union has been before the Conference. A Preliminary Draft of Union was actually drawn up in 1935, but it has become clear that members of the three Churches concerned, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian, while approving of the principle of Church Union have not been ready to enter into either union or federation.

One practical result there has been, nevertheless, and this holds great possibilities for the future. There has been effective co-operation in training the ministries of these three Churches. At the South African Native College at Fort Hare, African, Coloured, and Indian theological students, housed in denominational hostels with other students, are trained for the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Ministries. A significant advance has been made at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, where the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches, combining with the Anglicans to endow the Chair of Divinity, have erected Livingstone House, where their theological students receive common instruction in Pastoral Theology and Homiletics, and live a communal life centred in the worship in the Chapel.

On two occasions the question of Baptist participation in Livingstone House has been raised, but on both occasions the Baptist Assembly decided not to enter a door which was opened at their own request; and one reason has been concern lest their special doctrinal emphases be weakened or lost.

⁹ In his contribution to *To Serve the Present Age*, a devotional Diary published by the Post-War Development Commission of the Methodist Church of South Africa.

It is still too early to assess the value of Livingstone House as a factor in Church Union. Its potential value is very great, but its actual value will depend largely upon the number of ministerial students which the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches can send to share its resources with the regular quota designated annually by the Conference.

To any union with the Dutch Reformed Churches there are barriers at present insuperable, and these have been indicated: historical, racial, theological, and linguistic. Barriers to union with the Anglican Church are formidable, but should not be insuperable. Inauguring the Peter Ainslie Memorial Lecture at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, last October, the Archbishop of Capetown addressed a gathering including the Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province, the Methodist Conference, and members of the University and general public. His subject was 'Church Unity: An Anglican View'. The Lecturer stated that the New Testament metaphor of the Church as a New Race, the New Israel, indicates a unity which does exist, but the new race is 'split up and lives under a variety of governments'. Dealing with the Ecumenical Movement, the lecturer expressed his view that 'it does not look as if there would ever be a reunion of the whole of Christendom'. The Anglican position was therefore a difficult position.

We believe that we have it in us to be something of a bridge . . . but however inconvenient and however unpopular it may be, I believe that it is the mission of the Anglican Church to be a hindrance within the reunion movement to prevent a premature and incomplete re-union.

The Anglican Church, though immensely affected by the Reformation, claims not to be a child of the Reformation. At the Reformation, she washed her face; but she still has the same face as she had before she washed it; though the washing has made it look different. And in the last resort she insists that she cannot form a part of a new Church of which the continuity with the pre-Reformation Church is broken.

The lecturer was careful to state that the lecture represented not '*the* Anglican view' but '*an* Anglican view'. Others consider that this view-point is twenty years back along the road we have travelled, and some would say that the 'face washing' interpretation of the Reformation is not even face saving. Nevertheless it has become clear that while co-operation with the Church of the Province may be usefully extended by joint action within the Christian Council of South Africa, and with other Churches outside, as the Archbishop himself advocated, yet the initiative for any movement toward Church Union will come from the progress of negotiations in Great Britain.

Christian co-operation is faithfully represented, both in its area of effective operation, and in its limits, by the Christian Council of South Africa. The Roman Church was never associated with the Council, and the Dutch Reformed Church withdrew in 1940. Yet the Council discharges a necessary function in South Africa, and is the only organization which can do so. Its existence would be fully justified if only to preserve the link so desperately needed by the Church in South Africa with the World Council of Churches. But the Council has a record of worthy achievement much greater than this. The Fort Hare Conference in 1942 on Christian Reconstruction produced a

plan of action which was considered in the Regional Conferences of 1944. As a direct outcome of these there was a Home Life Campaign in 1946-7. Finally, in July 1949, the Council arranged the Conference at Rosettenville, Johannesburg, on 'The Christian Citizen in a Multi-racial Society'. These Conferences and the Reports issued have achieved a valuable purpose in guiding religious thought on contemporary matters of real importance.

To Methodism belongs the honour of making an unequalled contribution to the Council and its achievements. The largest annual contribution to its finances is made by the Methodist Conference, and in the essential offices of President, Vice-President, and Secretary, Methodist ministers, European and African, have given conspicuous service, most notably the ex-President of Conference, the Rev. E. W. Grant.

The unhappy antithesis to Church Union is represented by a distressing feature of the African religious situation—the splintering of the Christian community into a thousand fragments. The most recent authoritative work on this subject is Dr. B. G. M. Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. He suggests the title Bantu Independent Churches as more suitable than Native Separatist Movement. Many of these are small unstable groups of ignorant people led by malcontents with pathetic pretensions to authority. The word 'Church' is therefore quite inappropriate, for such small groups are not even sects, but sub-sects. The rapid growth in the number of these organizations shows a mounting fever in our religious society: 76 in 1918, 131 in 1928, 320 in 1938, and 950 in 1948. Of these only about one per cent receive Government recognition. But, as Dr. Sundkler has said, 'even sour grapes are food', for commenting on the situation a Zulu Zionist bishop remarked: 'The main thing is whether our names are written in heaven, not whether they are written in Pretoria.'¹⁰

The conclusion is clear that the division of the African Church into a thousand sects renders it incapable of saving the African people. Attempts to secure closer co-operation have had little success. Dr. Sundkler expresses the conviction that 'the leaders and the masses of the Bantu Independent Churches will be attracted by mission Churches with episcopal authority, prestige of liturgical tradition, and a liberal attitude on racial questions'.¹¹

An authoritative study of the relation of Methodism to this movement is an essential prerequisite to any constructive policy which we may adopt. In its earliest stages, three African Methodist ministers who seceded from us took a prominent part in the movement, and the name 'Methodist' is still preserved by many sects. In 1940, however, the Conference was compelled to declare that 'the so-named "Bantu Methodist Church" or other like-named "Methodist" Churches have no connexion with the Methodist Church of South Africa'. It must therefore be our responsibility to play our part in any attempt to relate the indigenous Church in South Africa to the Holy Catholic Church, the Separatist Movement to the Ecumenical Movement.

The foregoing survey points to certain definite conclusions. Methodism has come to stay in South Africa, and its members recognize no other home. This

¹⁰ *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (Lutterworth Press), p. 77.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

gives to them the right and the responsibility of making, as South Africans, their distinctive contribution to the life and the people of this land. This in turn will entail a resolute resistance to any attempt to divide the Church on racial lines, and the demonstration within our own multi-racial fellowship of a real confraternity. It imposes upon Methodism the responsibility of meeting criticisms of its doctrines and its policies, and of commending them to the Afrikaner in his own language. Evangelism is of cardinal importance to Methodism; but its fullest effectiveness demands not only zealous evangelists, but careful training and improved methods. Believing that God has called her ministers to the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, Methodism must take heed not to put these asunder; but to the vast enrichment of her service to God and her people she must claim her true inheritance in Christian worship. Finally, a worthy record in Christian co-operation in this country points her to an unfinished task. 'Other sheep I have which are not of this fold. . . .' Some of these have been entrusted to our pastoral care. It is for us to see that they are brought where 'they shall hear My voice; and they shall become one flock, one shepherd'.

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHES

The English phrase 'Dutch Reformed Church' covers three autonomous Afrikaans-speaking Churches, the distinctive titles of which may be rendered by translating two participles from the same verbal root, *Gereformeerde* and *Hervormde* by 'Reformed' and 'Re-formed' respectively. The two smaller Churches assert their distinctiveness by the use of one or other form of the word, and the repudiation of the other, but the largest describes itself as the 'Dutch Reformed or Re-formed Church'.

Dr. S. P. Engelbrecht analyses the distinction between the two smaller Churches thus:

The words '*Hervormde*' (Re-formed) and '*Gereformeerde*' (Reformed) originally had reference to the Scriptures and not to the Confession. From the second half of the nineteenth century the word *Gereformeerde* has under neo-Calvinistic influence entirely changed its meaning. With the changed meaning it now refers to the Confession. Scripture is not the first consideration, but the Confession. This makes the confessing Church a confession-Church. . . .

The *Hervormde Kerk* has steadily opposed neo-Calvinism. It has clung to the name *Hervormde* 'because this has significance for the Church. It is equally so with the name *Nederduits* (Netherland or Dutch). It springs from Holland. This contains the genealogy of the Church. The Church wishes to preserve this origin, and not have it mingled with American and Scottish streams.'¹²

The comment upon American and Scottish streams is a reference to the immense debt owed by the largest Church to Presbyterian Ministers from Scotland who identified themselves completely with this Church in the land of their adoption, and to Daniel Lindley of the American Board, who has the distinction of being the founder of the Dutch Reformed Church in the three provinces of Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal.¹³

¹² op. cit., p. 425.

¹³ See Edwin W. Smith, *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley* (Epworth Press).

METHODISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Census Returns of 1936

N.B.—The Census figures include all who claim to have association with Methodism; the Conference Membership Returns include only those who are known to be active as Full Members, On Trial, or Juniors.

Name of Church	European			Non-European		
	Percentage of Total Membership in 1926	Percentage of Total Membership in 1936	Membership in 1936	Coloured	Asiatic	Native
N.H.G. Kerk	49.61	48.47	971,139	223,530	78	150,398
Gereformeerde	2.73	2.94	58,848	1,495	12	2,542
Hervormde	2.66	2.88	57,736	246	—	1,240
Anglican	18.57	17.22	345,130	162,423	2,246	407,528
Methodist	6.28	7.08	141,747	81,475	1,025	795,869
Presbyterian	4.74	4.11	82,344	6,188	9	108,094
Congregational	0.59	0.57	11,504	86,649	77	57,054
Baptist	1.03	1.01	20,152	3,145	978	32,956
Apostolic Faith	0.93	1.59	31,765	12,145	144	13,003
Hebrew	4.26	4.52	90,645	9	—	—
Lutheran	1.32	1.29	25,817	59,485	50	307,387
Roman Catholic	4.25	4.61	92,453	36,093	4,755	232,905
Separatist African Sects						1,089,479

THE METHODIST CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA

Returns of Total Membership (including Full Members, On Trial, and Juniors).

1882	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1949
29,796	110,665	177,840	248,160	326,321	365,881	467,778

Membership Returns—1949

European	.	.	.	.	.	38,483
African	.	.	.	.	.	411,416
Coloured	.	.	.	.	.	16,769
Indian	.	.	.	.	.	1,110
Total	.	.	.	.	.	467,778

LESLIE A. HEWSON

Notes and Discussions

A. E. HOUSMAN His Outlook and Art

'ALL art is propaganda,' said Eric Gill. The view is a simplification. Art is propaganda only to the extent that in conveying the experience of the artist it expresses the convictions which lie beneath the experience. But it can exert an influence more subtle than conscious persuasion. Now although Housman would have denied any intention of propaganda, he none the less preached, in almost every line he wrote, a consistent and monotonous message. Whatever satisfaction or otherwise we may derive from his aesthetic experience we cannot avoid the impact of a ceaseless propaganda that there is no God or hope beyond the world, that the universe is hostile and ultimately meaningless, and man a lustful, cruel, and at best, pathetic animal.

Housman's art and message made a powerful effect upon the literary England of his time. The Edwardian period, though on the surface secure and carefree, lacked the inner vitality of a living faith. A century of increasing scepticism had been followed by revolutionary discoveries in history, science, and psychology that seemed to empty the meaning out of life. Yet because outwardly life was so secure, the Edwardians were able to despair and enjoy the sad harmonies of despair with impunity. Hence the popularity of *A Shropshire Lad*, itself the work of a despairing but well-fed and socially secure don. But today, although still much discussed and quoted, Housman's message no longer makes the same impression. The modern atheist has been forced, by two wars and the resultant collapse of social stability, to reject Housman's refined, individualistic pessimism, and is now engaged in a fierce and agonized striving to realize some godless ultimate value by which to live. Poetic language and style have been affected by the change, so that the art of Housman seems today—to the younger men, at all events—no less remote than his message. Yet although the modern attitude is superficially so different from Housman's, it has the same godless root, and is derived from it, and related to it by the derivation. Beneath the fanatical utopianism of the moderns, whether of Left or Right, lies a deep-seated despair. The totalitarian youth is still at heart the Shropshire lad; but he no longer cuts his rival's throat and hangs himself: he now mows down his political opponents with a tommy gun, and dies screaming the slogans of his party. For such an attitude Housman would have had only contempt. He offered neither comfort nor hope.

*Oh never fear, man, nought's to dread,
Look not left nor right:
In all the endless road you tread
There's nothing but the night.*

The advice in the second line has an ironical application today.

The moderns, while accepting the atheism of Housman, have refused to accept his logical reaction to it. They seek to transcend the pessimism that atheism logically entails by a fanatical allegiance to party, nation, State, class. Housman, in seeing clearly that nothing is of ultimate value if God does not exist, was more consistent, and paid a tacit compliment to his rejected Maker. Even in his darker moments, when he cursed 'whatever brute and blackguard made the world', he was nearer to God than the modern sociological fanatic. Both are, at bottom, pessimistic; but Housman accepted the logic of his position, and did not seek refuge in the illusion of social perfection to be achieved by violence.

Pessimism does not arise from the impact of reality: it is a subjective state. For reality is fundamentally good. It is impossible to deny that order, not disorder, is the norm of nature and society. Earthquakes and cataclysms are exceptional, and though war is always raging at *some* part of the globe at *some* time, peace is the norm of the average life. Nor can it be denied that the average man is, on the whole, decent and kind; that health and not disease, sanity and not insanity, are the norm of human life; that, as Leibniz pointed out, there are far more houses than prisons—and, be it added, far more churches, schools, art galleries, museums, and theatres than hospitals and lunatic asylums. Cruelty, injustice, poverty, disease, are wide-spread, and must be fought unceasingly; but only those who have the normal perspective, who see the fundamental order, goodness, and happiness of reality, can fight them successfully. He who despairs will either ignore them, or worsen them through mass violence. Now in view of the overwhelming logic of the facts, how does pessimism arise? It is only possible to explain it as due to the rejection of God, either deliberately, or through some form of neurosis. The loss of God is such an evil that everything becomes tainted. If the idea of God had never entered the human mind, and if man were merely a higher and more sensitive animal, reality would be simply accepted and enjoyed: the order of nature and society, the background of health, sleep, food, the pleasures of the senses and intellect would be taken for granted, and pain and loss, as in the animals, be accepted as passing episodes. But the idea of God *has* entered the human mind; and for this reason the natural goodness of the world can only be seen in relation to Him. When God is rejected, whether consciously or unconsciously, the loss is felt as so great that the world seems worthless. Atheism extinguishes the light by which the goodness of the world is seen.

Now, as we have seen, if this atheist-pessimism is intolerable, the attempt will be made forcibly to transcend it by utopianism. But the consistent pessimist is not only a more consistent atheist than the utopian fanatic whose pessimism is repressed: he does far less harm. He is, more often than not, an introverted temperament, a negative egoist, withdrawn from the world which is imagined as hostile. The atheist fanatic is extravert, a rebel, desiring to overcome despair by taking reality by storm and willing to destroy half the human race in doing so. Lenin, who was typical, is reputed to have said that it would not matter if half the race were destroyed so long as the remaining half were communist, for then the world could be built anew. Hitler was willing to stoop to the utmost cruelty of which man is capable in order to produce a German hegemony of the world in which all would at last be perfect.

We may deplore the godless pessimism of Housman, but this godless fanaticism is infinitely worse.

Housman was an extreme introvert and, under his hard and testy exterior, exceedingly 'tender-minded'—to use William James's expression. James divided men into tender- and tough-minded. The tender were introvert, sensitive, pessimistic, rationalistic: the tough were extrovert, active, empirical. The division is arbitrary and exaggerated, but useful. Much of Housman's neurotic egoism had its origin in a too tender mind which easily fell a prey to pessimism. We do not know what forces were at work in his infancy, a time in which, if the psychologists can be believed, the foundations of our future outlook and behaviour are laid; but we do know that his mother's death on his twelfth birthday made a wound that left a deep scar. The greatest blow of his life, however—a blow felt out of all proportion to the facts, and showing the morbid sensitivity that already existed—was his 'blamable failure' in the Final Schools at Oxford when he was twenty-two. He afterwards, with the single-minded energy of frustrated egoism, compensated for this failure by becoming the greatest Latin scholar in Europe, though the intellectual effort seems to have dammed back his emotional life for many years. Quite suddenly the dam broke with the writing of *A Shropshire Lad*, an event unique in circumstance, and an experience almost pathological in its intensity.

The majority of the verses that afterwards came to be called *A Shropshire Lad* were composed—always at high tension, and often to the accompaniment of a relaxed throat—during walks across London. The Shropshire of which they tell is largely a place of the imagination, an epitome of the English countryside which Housman inwardly distilled, while his eyes, if they saw anything at all, saw only the bricks and mortar of London. The theme of *A Shropshire Lad*, and of all Housman's subsequent verse, is man, inwardly tortured by his own thoughts and feelings—'But oh, my two troubles they reave me of rest, The brains in my head and the heart in my breast'—and outwardly menaced by a blind and pitiless nature. But, as with Hardy, much of its attraction derives from the local setting of the cosmological tragedy. The human element is represented by the lives of the lads and girls of the village: nature is not the luminous firmament or the vast plane and forest, but the woods and hills of home. With all the strife—the infidelity, murder, hanging, suicide—there is an air of quiet and remoteness that softens down the emotional intensity, and gives to the poems their unique savour. They appeal to the universal sense of tragedy, while at the same time arousing the intimate feelings associated with the English countryside. The emotion they impart, though intense, is very restricted in range, for Housman seems to have been capable of only one kind of emotion, that of pessimism. Though he could, on occasion, be light and even humorous, and in his youth wrote a good deal of comic verse, this side of his work is innocuous and superficial. It was the dark side of life that aroused his deepest emotion. The comic verse was probably the mask by which he hid his wounded feelings from the world until his pessimism could find satisfaction in genuine poetry.

At worst, Housman's pessimism degenerated into melodrama and sentimentality: at best, it was sublimated into pity, compassion, and sympathy. The poems dealing with murder and suicide are often melodramatic, and do not

ring true: Housman seems to have been deliberately working himself up, flogging his emotions to express an experience that was not genuine, but only imagined for himself in rebellious mood. Aesthetically he was playing to the gallery. The artificiality of the feeling is reflected in the language, which is often commonplace, and at times ludicrous.

*'Oh like enough 'tis blood, my dear,
For when the knife has slit
The throat across from ear to ear
'Twill bleed because of it.'*

Housman might have defended these lines as irony; but nothing can excuse their sheer badness. It was such lines that inspired Kingsmill's famous parody: 'What, still alive at twenty-two, a clean, upstanding chap like you?' Melodrama is a weakness to which most pessimistic writers have succumbed; but pessimism still more easily gives rise to sentimentality—a fault which may, in part, be defined as feeling, and the desire to communicate feeling, in excess of the value arousing it. Housman will often exaggerate, and try to make aesthetic capital out of the commonplaces of everyday suffering and change. There is also a sentimentality of happiness just as much as of unhappiness—as in the weaker passages of Dickens, where minor virtues are exaggerated out of all proportion.

But when his theme is cosmic—the ultimate darkness, the passing away of all the loveliness of the world, leaving 'not a wrack behind'—he achieves real greatness, as in *Wenlock Edge*. Aesthetically it is one of his greatest poems, of a power and mournful grandeur never again equalled. Man's pathos in the midst of cosmic indifference and cruelty, and the English countryside in an autumn gale (itself symbolic of the cosmic gale), are emotionally related by a wonderful admixture of images. The force of nature is mixed with 'the blood that warms an English yeoman'; the impersonality of nature is set off by a Shropshire woodland. All the profound sensibility of his art is here expressed at its most intense. Every simple word is charged with significance, and the verbal no less than the emotional effect is of a tremendous gale.

*On Wenlock Edge the wood's in trouble;
His forest fleece the Wrekin heaves;
The gale, it plies the saplings double,
And thick on Severn snow the leaves.*

Here is the whole of Housman: his sense of cosmic tragedy—the vast, unfeeling movement of life summed up in the wind blowing across Wenlock Edge, blowing down the ages and whirling generations of men into oblivion.

*There, like the wind through woods in riot,
Through him the gale of life blew high;
The tree of man was never quiet:
Then 'twas the Roman, now 'tis I.*

*The gale, it plies the saplings double,
It blows so hard, 'twill soon be gone:
Today the Roman and his trouble
Are ashes under Uricon.*

This final verse, like the sudden dropping of a gale, epitomizes the passing of man's achievement, a thing of the moment 'gone with the wind'.

The sense of cosmic indifference and of man's helplessness gives rise to pity which overflows in compassion and sympathy. When we pity we identify ourselves with the sufferings of others, and in this sense, pity, or rather the sympathy that comes from pity, is akin to love, though not the creative love that flows from a religious and moral view of life. Sympathy is the only constructive element in Housman's work apart from its aesthetic value: at his best he expresses a spirit of comradeship in a common suffering which redeems the defiant egoism of the pessimist. Though in his weaker moments he may shake his fist in the face of a meaningless universe, or shed maudlin tears over his 'luckless lads and lasses', he can also extend the hand of friendship to those who suffer patiently.

*From far, from eve and morning
And yon twelve-winded sky,
The stuff of life to knit me
Blew hither: here am I.*

*Now—for a breath I tarry
Nor yet disperse apart—
Take my hand quick and tell me,
What have you in your heart.*

*Speak now, and I will answer;
How shall I help you, say;
Ere to the wind's twelve quarters
I take my endless way.*

'It is the function of poetry', he said, 'to harmonize the sorrows of the world.'

There is a sense in which pessimism, because it gives rise to sympathy, can draw us together more effectively than optimism. People who have nothing in common, who can make no kind of contact with each other, and are even hostile, can often be brought together through the sharing of a common suffering—a fact that may explain the prevalence of grumbling. For though grumbling is only a very mild form of pessimism, it does illustrate the larger truth that pessimism leads to sympathy of a kind. Short of a genuine love of all men in God, short of a disinterested, objective charity, pessimism is of all moods the most kindly.

The message implicit in Housman's art sprang from the emotional root of his pessimism; but the quality of his art was unique. Nothing can explain his absolute originality: it was something inborn. Though traditional in form and simple in content, and revealing many influences, it remains unique.

Anyone can be original in expressing a crazy emotion in an eccentric language: it is far more rare to be original in expressing a commonplace feeling such as pastoral pessimism in simple and restricted language. Housman made no experiments with words, metre, or rhythm; but his style is at once musical and masculine, lyrical and strong, and he was a master at finding exactly the right word in its simplest form.

*Here of a Sunday morning
My love and I would lie,
And see the coloured counties,
And hear the larks so high
About us in the sky.*

Who else would have written 'the coloured counties', with its sense of distance and stillness, and its wonderful image of the fall and chequered fallow of an English landscape seen from afar. Though he could at times be inapt in his choice of words, and tended to monotony—as in his repetition of the word 'lad', and his use of 'Oh' as a kind of wail—he succeeded in the supremely important function of art, i.e. to communicate his experience whole and entire. Nothing comes between his experience and the sympathetic reader: we re-live it even as he lived it.

Nevertheless Housman's art falls short of the greatest: it is too narrow in emotion, too negative and monotonous in tone; and the restricting medium from which these limitations derive is the pessimistic materialism of his outlook. We may seriously question whether any universally great art in any form—literature, poetry, painting, sculpture, music—has ever been based on an atheistic philosophy, whether pessimistic or utopian. The sense of God and of ultimate meaning and justice alone can fully liberate the creative powers of man. Atheism, pessimistic or utopian, restricts the human spirit, and limits the creative powers. But pessimistic atheism has produced fine though limited art, whereas it is doubtful if the utopian brand can produce any art at all, as we see from the totalitarian countries. Pessimism, with its sense of the mutability of all things, has got hold at least of one part of the truth which the believer, and above all the Christian, sees. The Christian sees the world that God has made as intrinsically good; yet, because of his sense of sin and of the relative dissatisfaction of the world apart from God, he shares something of the pessimist's emotion, and can at least appreciate it. Housman's view of life is radically false. But it might well be pondered by the advocates of the godless machine State of impersonal might which men are asked to believe in as a compensation for the faith they have lost, and the despair they dare not face.

ROBERT HAMILTON

NEW LIGHT ON JANSENISM

THE FIRST of these volumes¹ contains the letters of Jansen, including a number discovered by Dr. Orcibal in the Vatican Library. The second volume contains the biography of Saint-Cyran until 1638. The third consists of Appendices, Bibliography, Chronological Table, and Indexes. The work is to be completed by two further volumes on the Life and Work of Jansen, and the Relation of Saint-Cyran to Antoine Arnauld. Dr. Orcibal has consulted all available sources of information, and has synthesized it in volumes which are a model of careful research and just generalization. In addition he has the gift of a good historical style. His clear sentences are enlivened by apt allusions and pleasing images.

Much has been written about the origins of Jansenism. Mr. Noel Abercrombie published a book on this subject in English in 1936. Sainte-Beuve in his *Port Royal* (1849-60) dealt with it in a masterly manner, and the intuition of this great critic led him to make hypotheses which have since been verified. But much new material has come to light since his day. The Abbé Henri Bremond used some of it in his eleven-volume *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France* (1915-33). But in spite of his brilliant literary gifts, Bremond's antipathy to Jansenism biased his judgement, so that his fourth volume on the Port-Royal School of Devotion is unduly derogatory, and its chapter on *La Misère de Saint-Cyran*, a caricature. Dr. Orcibal's work comes as a corrective to Bremond. Whereas Bremond represents Saint-Cyran as introducing into Port-Royal an austere and sombre theology when he became its religious director in 1635, Dr. Orcibal shows that Saint-Cyran had been much more influenced by the great mystic, Cardinal Bérulle, than by the theologian Jansen, and that his supreme desire was to deepen the spiritual life of the community. Moreover Saint-Cyran's moderation and discretion as a religious director disproves Bremond's assertion that he should have been in a mental home. It was Saint-Cyran's independence, and his friendship with those who opposed Richelieu, which led the Cardinal to shut him up in the prison of Vincennes in 1638. The life of Saint-Cyran after his conversion offers a fine example of devotion to a high ideal. Born of a wealthy family, and having all the advantages of education, this gifted man turned from the prospect of high ecclesiastical and civil preferment which opened before him, and deliberately chose to follow what he believed to be the true Christian way of life, even though it led to a cross.

With regard to St. Francis de Sales, Dr. Orcibal holds that Bremond was mistaken in making him the hero of his volume on Devout Humanism. Bremond there gives a number of quotations from St. Francis to show his unshakable belief in the essential goodness of human nature, and his mildness and tolerance as a spiritual director. 'He would lead them to the height by flowery paths.' But the *Introduction à la vie dévote*, from which many of those passages were taken, was intended for beginners on the way of holiness. In *La Traité de*

¹ *Correspondance de Jansénius; Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de Saint-Cyran et son temps* (8 Vols.), by Jean Orcibal, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Ancien Membre de l'École de Rome, Docteur ès-Lettres (Paris, Librairie Philosophique, J. Vrin, 1947-8).

l'amour de Dieu, written for those who were more advanced on the mystic way, there are passages of a very different tone. According to the *Traité*, human nature is tainted with sin, and the aspirant after holiness must deny his natural desires and inclinations. St. Francis taught his penitents to regard themselves as enemies of the world. He even advised Sainte Chantal not to think any more about her children. He commended those who desired 'no other majesty than Christ's crown of thorns, no other sceptre than his reed, no other cloak than his mantle of contempt, and no other throne than his cross, on which those who love Him have more contentment and joy and felicity than Solomon on his ivory throne'. For a sacrifice God desired 'the agreeable odour of a soul flayed alive (*écorchée*), dead, and broken'. In St. Francis's dealings with the Cistercians of his diocese he forbade them the use of underclothing and made them wear shirts of serge; and when they complained that this made them verminous he replied that it was 'small wonder that vermin fed on vermin'. Once when Mother Angélique confessed to him that she sometimes felt misgivings because she liked to look out of the window, he told her that she did well to have scruples about so useless a practice, for which she would have to give an account to God. These two contrary tendencies in St. Francis make against Bremond's contention that he was a great philosophical theologian 'implacably coherent in his system of instruction'.²

Dr. Orcibal reveals the early Jansenists as convinced members of the Roman Catholic Church. Jansen only wanted to be another St. Bernard, renewing the true spirit of Christianity endangered by the laxity of the time, which he considered to be due to the Renaissance. It is true that his teaching on man's natural sinfulness and on divine election had affinities with Calvinism. But Jansen regarded Calvin as a heretic. In the Preface to his book, the *Augustinus*, he submitted its findings to the judgement of the Pope, and declared himself to be a humble son of the Church. Moreover, similar views to those of Jansen are found in the writings of great orthodox leaders of the Counter-Reformation. Cardinal Bérulle had a great conception of the majesty of God. He regarded man as nothing before Him because of his sin, and as having a natural repugnance to goodness. And he stood with Jansen in marked opposition to the spirit of the Renaissance. Saint-Cyran was Bérulle's closest friend. Saint Francis de Sales had been a visitor to Port-Royal; and its Superior, Mother Angélique, declared that she found the direction of M. de Saint-Cyran more like that of St. Francis than any other she had known. If therefore the Jansenists had continued as purely theological and devotional teachers, they might have remained as a Right wing of the Roman Catholic Church. It was sectarian strife, coupled with personal animosity, which led their enemies at last to secure the Papal Bull condemning Jansenism as heresy.

Dr. Orcibal's able study of the beginnings of Jansenism makes us eager for the two further volumes in which he is to unfold this religious drama of the seventeenth century.

HENRY HOGARTH

² *Autour de l'humanisme*, p. 133.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON AND FATHER DAMIEN

A STEVENSONIAN friend of mine of long standing, sending me a most appreciative letter after reading my *Robert Louis Stevenson: A Re-study of the Man*,¹ expressed the wish that I had 'said more about the Father Damien incident'. As I believe the full facts are not generally known, I set out briefly here, by the courtesy of the Editor of the LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW, the circumstances in relation to this outstanding incident in the life of Stevenson. The recalling of these facts should be of added interest at the present time as before the end of the present year (1950) is reached there will occur the centenary of the birth of R.L.S.

In May 1889, at Honolulu, Hawaii, Stevenson completed writing *The Master of Ballantrae*. He had already enjoyed a seven-month voyage on the yacht *Casco*, and a second cruise on the *Equator* was arranged for in due course. In the meantime he made short trips to nearby islands. The most notable of these was the visit he paid to Molokai, where he spent a whole week in a settlement in which Father Damien had ministered to the lepers. Damien had, in fact, died less than two months before, and Stevenson naturally heard a great deal concerning the priest and his labours. R.L.S. stayed mostly at one village, where he became friends with the nuns and their child charges. His health at that time was so bad that Mother Mary Anne took it upon herself to warn him: 'It is not right for you to exert yourself. It may be dangerous in your condition.' But his only answer was to smile, and he persisted in playing games with the leper girls—games that would so exhaust him that he was forced to throw himself on the ground to rest. The Sister could see that he was determined that the girls, before he left them, should know how to play. Mother Mary Anne told him he *must* put on gloves before handling the croquet sticks, but this he refused to do, saying that if *he* wore gloves and the children did *not*, it would emphasize to them the fact that *they* were leprosy while *he* was *not*.

Stevenson felt particularly for the sufferings of the leper children, and he had great admiration for those who ministered to them. Before leaving the island he made many gifts to the little ones, and after his departure he sent a grand piano for their home.

In his diary written during his visit to Molokai, Stevenson wrote: 'Of Damien I begin to have an idea. He seems to have been a man of the peasant class—certainly of the peasant type; shrewd, ignorant, and bigoted, yet with an open mind; superbly generous; domineering.' Similarly, he wrote to Sidney Colvin: 'Of old Damien I heard fully. It was a European peasant: dirty, bigoted, untruthful, unwise, tricky, but superb with generosity and fundamental good-humour. A man, with all the grime and paltriness of mankind, but a saint and hero all the more for that.'

While Stevenson was in Sydney at the beginning of 1890, someone drew his attention to a copy of *The Sydney Presbyterian* dated 26th October 1889, which contained a letter written by the Rev. Dr. Hyde, of Honolulu, to his fellow missionary, the Rev. H. B. Gage. This letter, which was an estimate of Father Damien's life and character, was a private one not meant for publication

¹ The Epworth Press (1945), 2s. 6d.

(R.L.S. was not aware of this important fact), but Mr. Gage sent it to the denominational journal. Dr. Hyde, in his letter, had expressed surprise at 'the extravagant newspaper laudations'. He not only affirmed that Damien was 'a coarse, dirty man, headstrong and bigoted', but suggested that the leprosy of which he died should be attributed to his carelessness and his vices.

Stevenson's reaction to the perusal of this letter was immediate and profound. He knew Dr. Hyde and, in fact, had been his guest at Honolulu. In a mood of righteous indignation, and after taking his family into consultation, he wrote a scathing and scorching reply which found its way around the world. 'I have struck as hard as I know how,' was his own comment. This reply appeared in *The Australian Star* for 24th May 1890 under the title: 'In Defence of the Dead.' It also appeared in *The Scots Observer*. The same year it was published as a separate booklet by Chatto & Windus, under the title: *Father Damien—An Open Letter to the Reverend Dr. Hyde of Honolulu, from Robert Louis Stevenson*. The only comment made by Hyde that is on record is: 'Stevenson is simply a Bohemian crank; a negligible person whose opinion is of no value to anyone.'

The story of this incident in the life of R.L.S., thus far, is fairly well known, but it is *not* so well known, I think, that Stevenson repented (at least in part) of his hasty and severe action. I have three grounds for saying this. First, here is his own frank acknowledgement of regret. In a letter written at Sydney, six or seven months after his attack upon Dr. Hyde, he used these words: 'I regret my letter to Dr. Hyde. I think it was barbarously harsh. If I did it now, I would defend Damien no less well and give less pain to those who are alive. It was virtuous to defend Damien but it was harsh to strike so hard at Hyde.'

The second ground is that Stevenson refused to benefit financially by his attack upon Hyde. Writing to Sidney Colvin in November 1891 he says: 'Chatto asked leave to reprint *Damien*. I gave it to him as a present, explaining I could receive no emolument for a personal attack. And he took out my share of profits and sent them in my name to the Leper Fund.'

The third ground is a passage in a letter written to myself by Mrs. Newell (the wife of one of the missionaries who conducted the funeral service for R.L.S.), in which she definitely states that Stevenson told her husband that he 'never ceased to regret' that he ever wrote disparagingly of the Hawaiian mission.

My conclusion is that the whole matter is creditable to the name and fame of R.L.S. First, he wrote under the compulsion of a righteous indignation. Secondly, his conscience would not allow him to accept the financial fruits of an attack upon another person. Thirdly, he openly admitted that he had done Dr. Hyde an injustice. Fourthly, there is his clear statement that he 'never ceased to regret' the attack he had made.

Two other brief notes may be added: (1) Mr. Charles B. Reynold, Hawaiian Board of Health executive officer, states that Damien contracted leprosy through his careless ministrations and uncleanly personal habits. (2) Captain Otis, of the yacht *Casco*, says that Stevenson's mental make-up was such that he always took the side of the under-dog in any fight that arose, without waiting to inquire whether the under-dog had the right of it or was in the wrong.

HENRY J. COWELL

AN EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY JOURNAL

JOHN SKINNER (1772-1839) commenced keeping a *Journal* in 1788 and continued until 1832. It finally comprised one hundred and fifty manuscript volumes all of which were transcribed by his brother, Russell, as his own handwriting was almost illegible. These were left to the British Museum with the proviso that 'no extracts may be taken from these books till fifty years after my death'. It was not, however, until 1930 that these writings were brought to public notice, when Mr. Howard Coombs and the Rev. Arthur N. Bax, M.A., edited selections from the *Journal* under the title: *The Journal of a Somerset Rector*.¹

In a biographical preface we learn that John Skinner was educated at Cheam and Trinity College, Oxford. For a time he was entered at Lincoln's Inn but he eventually renounced Law as a profession for the Church, and in 1797 he was ordained deacon, and two years later priest. In 1800 he entered on his life's work as Rector of Camerton, a mining village in Somersetshire.

His domestic life was tragic. He married in 1805 but after five happy years his wife was stricken with consumption of which she died two years later. Two daughters and a son as well as an elder brother and two sisters were to die of this same dread disease. Then as his two sons emerge into manhood the *Journal* records an increasingly painful dissension between the father and his children. This domestic unhappiness coupled with disappointments in his parochial work served to darken his mind, and it is no surprise to read that in 1839 he committed suicide.

The published extracts of the *Journal* date from 1822-32 and were chosen because of the light they throw on 'the life of a Somerset village at the beginning of the nineteenth century'. They reveal much concerning the morals of the people at that time: illegitimacy, prostitution, thieving, drunkenness are frequently mentioned. We discover too that even then there was a sensational Press pandering to the morbid tastes of the public as in the notorious Maria Martin murder. There are sufficient references to the Reform Movement, to Dissent, and to Democracy to indicate that the writer was as stubbornly conservative as could be.

We who are not of the rabble have a right to demand the putting down . . . of these rebellious meetings [i.e. meetings of the Political Union sponsoring the Reform Bill].

If only the Government would require certain qualifications in the ministers of the Dissenters with respect to their knowledge and principles the mischief might be less extensive.

But it is in his Church relationships that we find most of interest. He was undoubtedly conscientious and zealous in his pastoral duties. He conducted regular Sunday worship and there are frequent references to the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion. He encouraged Sunday-schools and day-schools, repeatedly formed confirmation classes, and systematically visited the

¹ Published by John Murray.

sick, aged, and poor. His private devotional life was exemplary, and in the study he kept up his Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. And as the years went by he became increasingly absorbed in antiquarian research. Altogether he was a scholarly and earnest clergyman with a very real concern for his parishioners. Yet the *Journal* records continual friction between the pastor and his flock. He has differences with the Lady of the Manor, with churchwardens, singers, sextons, bailiffs, and farmers. In many cases parishioners were tenants of Church property or payers of tithe and thus the differences were aggravated. If every Anglican minister had as much difficulty in collecting his tithe, then those who worked for the abolition of this method of Church finance may be reckoned as benefactors.

The question arises, Why was it that so earnest and devoted a pastor should have proved so ineffective in his work? His own answer no doubt would have been that his people were so utterly worthless. Indeed, he regarded his *Journal* as an apology by which posterity would vindicate him.

Whatever the world may say to my disadvantage, these at least will remain to show I have not misspent my time during my pilgrimage through life; had my sphere been more enlarged I might have done more; and this I know, not more will be required of me than the use of the talents bestowed.

In answering this question it may help if we examine the frequent references in the *Journal* to Methodists, references that are almost wholly uncomplimentary. The one exception is critical in tone and tends to be patronizing:

I have often thought that some of the more steady and serious among the Methodists might be of great service to the regular clergy, if they would keep within certain bounds and not be hurried away by feeling and fancy. As they know far better the private life and disposition of the poorer orders, they might give some very useful information to the clergyman when he went to visit the sick.

Why did he dislike the Methodists so much? Perhaps there was an initial prejudice dating from the time when he was a curate under the Rev. Richard Graves who had written an anti-Methodist satire: *A Spiritual Quixote*. Skinner does at any rate on one occasion refer to 'the followers of the ambitious adventurer, John Wesley'. But there was also the fact that they were intruders in his parish. He often encountered them whilst sick-visiting:

I found three or four of the Methodists assembled around the bed exhorting the poor creature to repentance. I stopped the ill-judged interference of these fanatics by saying I would employ some proper prayers for the occasion.

How strange it is these people will interfere, and thwart and pervert all the efforts of the regular clergy. Indeed our advice is held of little value.

Secondly, they were so successful in their appeal to the people. He quotes some words of his uncle, the Rev. John Haggard, in 1813:

... they were gaining ground in his country ... are twenty years were over they would expel us from our seats; however, we ought to thank ourselves for it through our inattention and supineness.

And his own conclusions are just as gloomy:

I am more and more convinced that the regular clergy are now of little or no use to the people; whether they who purpose thrusting us from our seats will do better is another consideration.

If I were to commence a new system as an evangelical teacher the Methodists would attend; but I cannot prevail upon myself to do evil to work no good to gratify one's vanity by procuring full benches at the expense of one's principles.

A third and weightier objection relates to the value of worship in the Anglican Church and Methodist Chapel:

It seems to be the interest of the Methodist preachers to inculcate that they do not separate from the Church, and that it is the same thing whether their people go to their chapel or to the church. This artful policy has of late been extended to the Bible Societies. . . . Is it the same thing to attend the crude, undigested effusion of a cobbler or a collier, under the name of prayer, as the beautiful service of our Liturgy? Is it the same thing to have a minister among them to visit the sick, advise the ignorant and relieve the afflicted, or to contribute at the meeting-house to a needy adventurer, who himself is greedy of the dole extorted from the hard hands of the mechanics.

Preaching one Sunday on 'Lord, Teach us to pray', he declared

that a form of prayer was given us by our Saviour Himself, and pointed out the great loss the Methodists sustained by turning their backs on the Church Liturgy; in short, it was my duty to tell the people of my parish plainly that the doctrines taught at the church and meeting-house were not the same; that the prayers of the Church of England were composed by the best and wisest of men.

Similarly, on hearing two young men of the Methodist persuasion say that all who had the gift of God had a right to expound the Scriptures, he replied that it was not possible for uninstructed persons to do this and clinched the argument by asking if they would go to a surgeon or a horse doctor if they were ill!

It is, however, illuminating to read that on one occasion whilst sick visiting he was unable to borrow a *Prayer Book* and therefore postponed the saying of prayers until next day when he returned with his own copy.

And finally, he was concerned about Methodist doctrine. On 19th January 1823 he preached from 2 Timothy 4:

I was induced to give this sermon because I have perceived the Methodists more alert than usual, having made a new gallery to the meeting-house on Red Hill, and abstaining more from the communion of the Church than they were wont to do.

Faith was one point at issue. On visiting Sarah Somers he writes:

I made some strong exhortations and told her I could give no hopes that a mere faith could save her, in case she were called from this world to another; she must sincerely repent of her past sins, which had been many and grievous to my knowledge. The

woman has been as bad as anyone in the parish and has brought up all her family in the same licentious course; but now she is in a most fearful state. The end will be the Methodists will immediately get round her, and if she says she has a firm faith they will give her a viaticum, and make this worst of sinners, for the edification of this Parish, die a saint.

Being asked to visit a sick man, he writes:

I accordingly went and found him in a very low state, exclaiming after the Methodist manner how great a sinner he had been, but hoped through the Blessed Saviour he should work out his salvation. He was told that he must not only repent but make every reparation within his power. It was a dangerous error to rely solely on the sacrifice of Christ unless he was disposed to make some sacrifice *himself*. The man I find is a strong Methodist and his reason for sending for me I cannot exactly comprehend, though as he mentioned his pecuniary distresses, probably this may have some weight.

Assurance also gave offence. He found Isaac Green, a Methodist, visiting a parishioner named West and writes:

I am sure he will not render her latter end more calm or comfortable. [After prayer he went on to speak of] the fallacy of those ideas which led people to say they were certain of going to heaven; that there was no part of Scripture that authorized such presumption; if it were indeed so, there would be no use in a Day of Judgement! since persons would be beforehand convinced of their acceptance or rejection; we might humbly hope through the merits and mediation of a crucified Redeemer that the promises proclaimed in the Gospel to penitent sinners would be completed; but to say we were sure of acceptance was a most dangerous error. To this Green replied nothing, but I perceived he by no means approved of the doctrine I used.

So he writes on another occasion:

But alas, the present Methodists set up their opinions in opposition to those of the clergyman, they in fact endeavour to convert him; and look upon him as little better than a castaway, if he cannot feel as they feel. On his explaining the terms of the Gospel Covenant, and the necessity of good works as well as faith toward effecting salvation, he is told by some old woman by the bedside that 'Christ is all in all!' A clergyman nowadays has indeed a difficult task to perform.

Lastly there is this illuminating reference to the Ranters:

This being Trinity Sunday I preached in the morning on the ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit, showing that as miracles had ceased no one could pretend to the extraordinary powers bestowed on the primitive Apostles without subjecting himself to be considered as an impostor by all reasonable men. I was rather induced to enlarge upon this subject just now, as I understood from the Bath papers that a number of my parishioners attended the Ranters' Camp Meeting on Coombe Down last Sunday; there were three wagons and their female preachers. The director of the Meeting thus addressed the motley mob: 'You Camerton friends go to the left; you Frome friends you go to the right; you Coleford friends continue by the wagons.' A most barbarous scene was then exhibited, men and women ranting and roaring

and bellowing till they were black in the face, calling upon the Spirit to come down upon them—I presume in allusion to the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles as recorded in the service of the day. Old Smallcombe, who staid [*sic*] to receive the Sacrament, on my asking whether he had been there? answered in the affirmative. On my expressing myself surprised that anyone who had the least sense should go such a distance to witness the exposure of folly, he replied, if I had heard them myself I should 'not have called it folly, since the Lord was indeed among them!'

These references suffice to indicate the ecclesiastical position of the vicar—his formal low-churchmanship and intense conservatism. We believe that he woefully misunderstood the Methodists of his parish but assuredly his lack of sympathy robbed him of any desire to understand them and their doctrines. Certainly there is very little evidence of a real personal experience or of saving faith in its evangelical sense. And he appears utterly incapable of appreciating any position that differed from his own, hence his tragic isolation in his home, in his church, and throughout his parish. Perhaps the most fitting summary is to be found in the biographical introduction written by the editors:

He had worked for them [i.e. his parishioners], taught faithfully according to his lights, and had been ever ready to give, and yet he had failed. Perhaps it had never been in him to love them, and that was the cause.

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May we draw the obvious conclusion: that the essence of Christian life and witness is in this spirit of *love*; arguments accomplish relatively little, it is the quality of the life that counts. Without love all other gifts are vain. The present writer has found in this *Journal* a reminder that his relationship with Christians who belong to smaller sects—and these abound in the West Indies—may so easily parallel that of the Vicar of Camerton. It is so easy to take a superior air, to be irritated, intolerant, argumentative. There is so often much to deplore and to condemn. But this negative attitude leads nowhere. The superiority of doctrine or of types of Church order may best be revealed in that quality of life that alone is possible through nearness to Christ—and in that life there must ever be tolerance and sympathy based on a love for one's neighbours, even those apparently deluded and misguided. Such an attitude will lead us to St. Paul's conclusion concerning those who were his rivals in the Gospel: 'What then? only that in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed; and therein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.'

BERNARD CROSBY

Recent Literature

Introduction to the Old Testament, by Aage Bentzen. (Oxford Press, Vol. I, 25s., Vol. II, 30s.)

This work, by the Professor of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, first appeared in Danish in 1941. The present English edition is not simply a translation of the original, but to some extent a revision. It takes into account Dr. Paul Kahle's Schweich Lectures, *The Cairo Geniza* (1947), and also the work of the 'Uppsala School'. It is therefore quite up to date, as well as being the most comprehensive Old Testament Introduction available in English. Vol. I deals with the Canon, the Text, and the Forms of Old Testament literature. Its third section contains matter which otherwise is hardly accessible to English readers. All types of poetry and prose are described, and their origins in oral tradition are constantly stressed. Vol. II deals with 'Introduction' in the sense which the word commonly bears in works on the subject, and includes the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

It is well known that at present the storm centre in Old Testament studies has passed to Scandinavia. This is due not simply to the fact that during the war German and British scholarship was largely immobilized. The brilliant conjectures of Mowinckel of Oslo and the almost equally distinctive work of Pedersen of Copenhagen would in any case have heralded a general renaissance of Scandinavian Old Testament scholarship. The most provocative work comes from Uppsala, and is associated with the names of Engnell and Widengren. The current impression, that the Uppsala scholars have got their ideas from Oslo, is in some ways mistaken; their real 'father' is Pedersen. Mowinckel is essentially a literary and form-critic, and with literary criticism Uppsala will have nothing to do. Indeed, there is something like a feud between Uppsala and Oslo. Engnell would do away with documentary criticism altogether, and, even by-passing form-literary criticism, would substitute for it what he calls 'traditio-historical' criticism. In this triangular contest the sympathies of Bentzen are mainly with Oslo, though this English edition of his *Introduction* shows that he has moved some way to meet the views of Uppsala. The average British Bible student knows, of course, his literary criticism, his 'J, E, D, P'. He is less familiar with form-criticism in the Old Testament field, largely because the work of Gunkel has never been made as accessible to him as was the work of the Wellhausen school. Only since the war have the views of the Uppsala scholars become known, and although Engnell has written books in English, so far his work on Old Testament introduction is only available in Swedish. There is abundance of rumour about what he is saying, but little positive information. Professor Bentzen has read extraordinarily widely, and he is a scholar of sound judgement, and free from bias. There are many indications that this is a transition period in Old Testament studies, and anyone who would know 'Who is Who' and 'What is What' will do well to procure these volumes.

C. R. NORTH

The Mosaic Tradition, by Frederick Victor Winnett. (Toronto University Press, via Oxford Press, 28s.)

It has often been said that the literary analysis of the Pentateuch associated with Wellhausen's name has, in the main, stood the test of time. In recent years, however, it has not lacked assailants. Professor Winnett makes another attempt to provide an alternative theory. His discussion is limited, however, to Exodus and Numbers,

which he examines in the following sections: The Story of the Plagues; the Tradition of the Oppression and of the Raising-up of a Deliverer; the Tradition of the Law-giving; the Tradition of the Tent of Meeting and of Moses' Father-in-Law; the Tradition of the Wilderness Itinerary; the Tradition of the Ten Murmurings or Testings. He argues that beneath traces of editorial revision there is to be discerned the well-defined schematic arrangement of a basic tradition, which he reconstructs and presents in a new translation at the end of the book. This tradition is not regarded as composite; and one is often reminded of the arguments of Volz and Rudolph for the elimination of E. But although Professor Winnett suggests with hesitation the symbol J, rather than JE, for his reconstructed 'Mosaic Tradition', he insists that in its original form it is northern in origin. He argues, further, that after the fall of Samaria the tradition was edited in Judah in the interests of the claims of the southern kingdom, that Deuteronomy represents a later attempt on the part of Judaeans propagandists to produce a completely revised version, and that finally the post-exilic priesthood tried to harmonize the two versions. Professor Winnett finds the key to the problem of the Pentateuch in tendentious and unhistorical propaganda in support of the southern sanctuary. It is in the detailed examination of the sections enumerated above that the chief value of the book lies. The specialist student will discover there a wealth of stimulating suggestion presented with much learning and ingenuity, if not always with complete cogency. (For reasons which are understandable account has not been taken of some recent important work in this field, especially in Sweden.)

G. W. ANDERSON

The Jewish People and Jesus Christ, by Jakób Jocz. (S.P.C.K., 21s.)

Dr. Jocz seeks to answer the question: Why has Jesus the Jew been looked upon for centuries by His own people as their bitterest enemy? His name, a name to spit at? His answer is that the problem is fundamentally one of faith. The dividing line is the Christian claim that Jesus is Divine. We would add that this claim is also the dividing line between Christianity and everything else. Dr. Jocz has made this very clear in his book. He also resists the claim that the Apostle Paul is 'the villain of the piece' in that he gave early Christian teaching a twist which divorced it from its Jewish antecedents, particularly monotheism. Jesus does not belong to Gentiles only. *Some* Gentiles have accepted Him, and *some* Jews have rejected Him. He spoke and still speaks to all the human race, and a growing number of Hebrew Christians gladly testify to His saving Grace and Power. The author traces with careful erudition the history of the Christian Church and the Jewish community and of the deep cleavage between them concerning Jesus of Nazareth. He discusses the real reasons for the breach between Church and Synagogue, both in early and medieval times. There is an excellent chapter on primitive Hebrew Christianity, a very full discussion of the present issues, and ample quotations, with a hundred pages of notes at the end of the volume. The book is valuable from many points of view. Christians need to read Dr. Jocz's account of Jewish Propaganda against Jesus, and the steady persistent way in which He has been vilified in order to create amongst uneducated Jews a strong and violent antagonism. They also need to learn the dark details of the long violence and persecution to which the Jews have been subjected by the 'Christian' Church. It is good, yet again, that Christians should read the author's discussion of the present situation. The whole book is written from an unfamiliar and illuminating angle, as two sentences will indicate: 'There is only one division: between the man who . . . says "yes" and the man who . . . says "no" to the challenge which Jesus Christ presents'; 'It is the division between faith which knows and unbelief which also knows.'

NORMAN H. SNAITH

The Admonition Controversy, by D. J. McGinn. (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, \$6.50.)

This book deals with a controversy of Elizabethan days in which the principal protagonists were the Presbyterian Cartwright and the Anglican Whitgift. Dr. McGinn gives an account of the background of the controversy, and then a very useful abridgement of the original writings. Cartwright was a thorough Presbyterian—a 'root and branch' man whose zeal won many of his Cambridge contemporaries for Puritanism. In the earlier vestiarian controversies he preached so effectively against the surplice that only three members of the College dared to appear in it at evening chapel! The chief volumes in the controversy were his *Admonition* (1572), Whitgift's *Answer* (1572), Cartwright's *Reply* (1573), and Whitgift's *Defence* (1574). The 'abridgement' in the second and larger part of Dr. McGinn's book will be of great help to students, especially as there is a full index. The editor's preference for Whitgift soon becomes apparent; but who can be completely neutral in such matters?

HAROLD S. DARBY

Sons of Freedom, by R. G. Martin. (Religious Education Press, 4s. 6d.)

The Distinctive Free Church Witness, by Henry T. Wigley. (Religious Education Press, 3s. 6d.)

The issue of these two little books is most timely. Mr. Martin takes us on a short tour through nearly twenty centuries of Christian history. His sketches of outstanding people and events will fascinate even those who are most familiar with the subject. He is concerned with freedom of religious thought and practice as the necessary ground of every other legitimate freedom that men desire or already enjoy. He illustrates his theme for instance, from the rise of Protestantism, of the older free Churches, and of Methodism. The story is told with a verve and a grasp of salient facts that hold the reader's enthusiastic interest to the end.

Mr. Wigley's book is a valuable complement. He shows how great religious leaders recaptured and handed on something unspeakably precious and necessary, if men would reach to fullness of moral and spiritual stature. This was the Christian freedom of men who through Christ have direct access to God. That is the basic truth of the Christian Gospel. Wherever and whenever priest-craft has revived, Christian freedom has become evanescent and true religion has wilted in the Church. Rightly, Mr. Wigley deprecates the Christian use of the ambiguous word 'priest', but it is a pity that he completely surrenders the word 'catholic' to the sacerdotalists, whether Roman or Anglican. For the purposes for which they were written it is hardly possible to praise these books too highly. To most young readers they will open up new worlds of delight and romance, in which many will be eager to travel farther.

W. LAMPLOUGH DOUGHTY

Kierkegaard's Philosophy of Religion, by Reidar Thomte. (Princeton University Press, via Geoffrey Cumberlege, 25s.)

During the last fourteen years many of the voluminous writings of Kierkegaard have been made available in English, but they do not make easy reading. Mr. Thomte's purpose is to be our guide to his religious thought and in particular to introduce us to his writings themselves. The book is an introduction, not a critique of the philosophy. For this 'more modest task', as Mr. Thomte calls it, he has the advantage of being able to consult material only available in Danish and to make his own translations when he so desires. He quotes freely, so that Kierkegaard may speak for himself, yet the frequent quotations are under skilful control. Clarity of style and clear

paragraphing are matched by good printing, and there is a full index. We are given first Kierkegaard's diagnosis of the disease of his time, the divorce of life and thinking—and we prepare to watch him at his Socratic task of revising, in view of this disease, the conception of what it means to be a Christian. The Aesthetic, Ethical, and two Religious Stages which he distinguishes are examined in successive chapters. 'Truth as subjectivity' and 'the Edifying Discourses' have a chapter each, and then Kierkegaard's treatment of Christianity is presented in three chapters. His view of the communication of truth brings the systematic exposition to an end. A concluding chapter reiterates some of the basic concepts. Naturally many questions remain to be asked, but Mr. Thomte's immediate task is finished. He has clarified the main themes and provided an excellent introduction to Kierkegaard's own writings. With Mr. Thomte's book to guide him, the reader may turn to them with courage.

A. W. HEATHCOTE

World Invisible, A Study in Personality, by Dallas Kenmare. (Williams and Norgate, 8s. 6d.)

Dallas Kenmare is a poet and the authoress of such books as *The Stamp of Nature*, which handles with assurance and insight the delicate problems of personal relationships. When, therefore, she turns to the problem of personality we expect a sure grasp of the ways of man's inner world, and we are not disappointed. Today, she says: 'In the materialistic realm there is far too much blind faith; in the realm of the Spirit hardly any faith at all.' She believes that emphasis must be placed on the individuality and sacredness of each person. The individual, indeed, becomes a person only through the purgation of struggle with evil and contact with God. Love alone—which involves the stern facing of reality, as in the example of Jesus, and the sense of God's vocation—produces real liberation of the personality and peace. This theme is pursued through the realms of marriage, the life of the spirit, art, and freedom. This satisfying book is the outcome of many years of wide reading, deep thought, and intense personal experience.

RALPH KIRBY

Methodism and the Education of the People, by H. F. Mathews (The Epworth Press, 13s. 6d.)

The Methods of Christian Education, by Clifford M. Jones (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.)

The emphasis of the Methodist Revival on the individual man did not stop short at the saving of his soul, and in his book Mr. H. F. Mathews shows how a necessary corollary was the extending of education to the children of the poor. In an account fully documented and reinforced by statistics he reveals the important part played by Methodism (if not by the Methodist Church) in the growth of Sunday-schools, giving interesting and sometimes amusing details of some of the practical issues, and especially of 'the writing controversy'—i.e. whether writing should be taught on Sundays! In one excellent chapter he traces five main avenues by which Methodism prepared the way for an educational policy of its own—the class-meeting, reading-circles, its democratic government, its sense of moral and social earnestness, and local preaching—and shows that, though officially Methodism was opposed to Chartism, many of its members, notably Rayner Stephens (at one time a minister) and Thomas Cooper, led the way to a more enlightened attitude. Methodist policy developed, not merely in the setting-up of day-schools, but also in its care for the training of teachers. There are also interesting chapters on educational missionary work, on the influence of books, and on the educational standards of the Ministry—a comprehensive treatment which goes beyond the title of the book.

One of the first results of the increased interest in religious education displayed in the religious clauses of the Education Act of 1944 has been a demand for a text-book of method, and Mr. Clifford M. Jones has gone far to supply such a book. It can be heartily commended to schoolmasters in all types of schools and to teachers in Sunday-schools, for it presents in attractive fashion the results of wide reading and intimate experience, and colours them with a deep and pervasive earnestness. Even if the suggestions are followed only in part, there will be an end to the soul-killing method (which was no method at all) so common in Scripture-teaching in the past—i.e. of reading round the class and making more or less relevant comment. While Mr. Jones advocates full use of all available and approved teaching methods, he does not let us lose sight of the primary aim of Christian teaching—to make Christians, and of the essential qualification of the teacher—to be a Christian. The bibliographies are full and well graded, and there are some useful charts and diagrams.

CLIFFORD W. TOWLSON

Personalities in Social Reform, by G. Bromley Oxnam. (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via The Epworth Press, \$2.)

The author of this book has chosen five types of reformer whom he designates scholar, minister, administrator, saint, and missionary. His method is to give a few essential biographical details and then discuss very simply their philosophy and achievements. He writes with relish and sympathy of the Webbs' great partnership, but although he sums up the principles on which they worked and some of their concrete achievements, he can give no adequate account of their theories and significance because he does not attempt to fix their place in the early history of the Labour Movement. He is obviously more at home in dealing with Walter Rauschenbusch, whose work and influence is not sufficiently appreciated in this country. His weakness was that he never worked out the social implications of such theological dogmas as the Fatherhood of God. The best essay is that on David Lilienthal, a friend of the author, whose work he can judge at first hand. The studies of Gandhi and Schweitzer bring out well the heroic stature of the men without any corresponding insight into their cast of thought. For the general reader, however, the book will be stimulating because with bold vigour the author deals with reformers whose vital thinking led to splendid achievement.

MALDWIN EDWARDS

Seek Ye First—Extracts from Addresses by Cardinal Griffin. (Sheed and Ward, 12s. 6d.)

In reading what leaders and teachers of the Roman Church say, I generally discover many things which we too can and do say with equal conviction and in very much the same language. This was my experience in reading this selection of some fifty-three extracts from sermons and addresses by Cardinal Griffin. The selections are arranged under the following headings: The Catholic Faith, Catholic Morality, Family Life, State and Citizen, International Relations, Human Labour, Education, Youth, and On Various Occasions. The selection is designed to set forth the mind of the Cardinal as the leader of the Roman Communion in Great Britain. This constitutes the real interest of the book. On the dogmatic issues I shall only refer to a paragraph in the selection entitled *The Catholic Church*: 'When you mention the name of any Christian sect you imply at once a national allegiance. A member of the Church of England is almost certain to be English or a native of some British possession. A member of the Church of Ireland is quite naturally Irish, a Presbyterian is a Scot or of Scots ancestry, an Episcopalian is an American, a Lutheran a German. . . . Whereas to mention that a man is a Catholic is to give no hint of his race or national allegiance.' There is truth

here, yet there are Japanese and Chinese Christians in communion with Canterbury, Presbyterians who are Swiss, French, and Dutch, and Lutherans in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. And are there no national differences within Romanism? Does not the spirit of Catholicity stream through all the great communions—Methodism not the least—transcending all national boundaries? Under the section dealing with social questions and moral issues Cardinal Griffin often appears as a loyal and patriotic Christian Englishman, rejoicing in his nationhood. 'In our own country and in America', he says in an address on 'The Four Freedoms', 'we have, thank God, complete freedom of worship and, as freedom-loving peoples, we ought to see that such freedom and such toleration are enjoyed by the whole human race.' That is good hearing, but what would the Cardinal say to his *confrères* in Spain? Special mention may be made of the selections on the Family, Good Citizenship, the Church and Trade Unionism, the Rights of the Human Person, and the Principles of Peace. Under all these the Cardinal says many things that any Church leader could say. If he is saying them on one platform and we on another, is it because of a failure of Catholicity in the Roman Church?

E. C. URWIN

The Ministry, edited by J. Richard Spann. (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via The Epworth Press, \$2.)

This book is based on a series of lectures given at the Evanston Conference on Ministerial Training by seventeen outstanding American churchmen, including Henry Sloane Coffin, A. Frank Smith, Russell Henry Stafford, and D. Elton Trueblood. In this practical and comprehensive introduction to ministerial work there is mature counsel on every side of a minister's life from his call onwards. While the subject matter is not new, there is much in this book both to guide beginners and to refresh the spirit of any minister who, if only temporarily, forgets the greatness of the office to which God has called him.

S.C.F.

A Dictionary of Church Music, by G. W. Stubbings. (The Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.)

This rather unusual book is a manual of such musical terms as relate particularly to Christian worship. It consists of plain definitions, with much varied information, and not a few sound opinions. The author thinks that the 'regrettably poor quality of the music in all but a few churches is due as much to lack of knowledge as to deficiency of executive ability'—and he is of course right. Many organists and choirmasters little know how much their work would benefit by greater familiarity with the history and technicalities of Christian worship in its liturgical and musical aspects. Any authoritative book which helps to supply this defect is to be welcomed, especially when it is as readable as this one. Some subjects, such as *Merbecke* and *Methodist Church Music*, are given two or three pages of explanation and discussion; and full use is made throughout of cross-references. The treatment, whether of the science of Church music (*Pitch*, *Just Intonation*, etc.), of its form (*Canon*, *Chant*), of its history (*Tate and Brady*, *English Hymnal*), or of its place in the field of the whole liturgical apparatus of the Church (*Gradual*, *Gloria Patri*), is both clear and competent. Mr. Stubbings commands a terse and accurate style and illustrates aptly. And if he occasionally lets fall his personal views—as, for instance, on the 'defective self-critical faculty' of some extemporizers on the organ—this only adds to the interest of his book. Incidentally the book is a significant protest against musical sectarianism. (English Methodism, however, is not 'federated'.) The richly varied musical apertenance of all the Christian traditions is presented here as a coherent whole. This is a very useful manual for all music-loving worshippers.

A. S. GREGORY

Wisdom, Love, and Power: The Work of the Holy Spirit, by George B. Robson (6d.); *Did Jesus Rise Again?*, by A. S. Peake (6d.); *Human Interest in the Bible*, by William J. May (6d.); *Early Translations of the Bible*, by W. F. Lofthouse (9d.); *The Bible in English*, by E. A. Payne (9d.); *Full Methodist Membership*, by Ernest C. Tanton (6d.); *Reinforcing the Sermon*, by Cyril H. Powell (6d.).

The Epworth Press is to be congratulated on the issue of a second series of 'Little Books of the Kindly Light'. These attractively designed booklets will meet the needs of those who seek simple but adequate guides to Christian Doctrine and Evidence, the Bible and Methodism. Some of the series are reprints of earlier booklets that have been in demand.

R. K.

Tribal Heritage: a Study of the Santals, by W. J. Culshaw. (Lutterworth Press, 21s.)

No Missionary to the Santals can henceforth afford to be without this book; and all Missionary students will find in it a wealth of information, brought together for the first time, in a very compact and readable form, about this interesting aboriginal tribe in Bengal. There are extracts from records, many of which are difficult of access, and a great amount of first-hand information that only long and sympathetic contact with the people themselves could have made available. The book is a mine of information concerning the wonderful Clan Organization, the Myths, the Folktales, the Festivals, the Pastimes, and the Beliefs and Practices in connexion with Births, Marriages, and Deaths of the Santals. The most fascinating chapters from a Missionary standpoint are probably those on 'The World Invisible' and 'The Impact of Christian Missions'.

G. E. WOODFORD

Portrait of Pinrut, by Edward Fittall. (The Epworth Press, 5s.)

What the reader finds in this book—a farrago of nonsense or a philosophical fantasia—depends upon what he brings to it. A discerning eye will see in Pinrut the 'Little Man' who, very bewildered and rather helpless, is caught up by forces over which he has no control and of whose meaning and end he has no idea. Pinrut has spent all his life in seclusion, growing cacti with Latin names which would make a gardener squirm and a schoolboy jeer. Thrust into the outside world, he meanders through the realms of industrial power and big business, mass entertainment, military preparations and the like. He is caught up in the ceaseless round of activities, frustrated by scientific inventions, urged to destruction by promise of popularity, and all the while dictatorship prevents him 'ganging his ain gate'. In the end Pinrut gladly finds himself again among the timeless things symbolized by the slowly-growing cacti. The author tells this astoundingly impossible yarn and wisely leaves it unexplained. But, when Pinrut tries to find 'The Big Boss', he is told again and again to open his eyes and look around, and so he finds that the machine has mastered its creators. A reader who has eyes to see will find a whole philosophy of life in this fascinating, incredible story.

HAROLD MALLINSON

ERRATUM. In our April issue (p. 170) it is stated that J. K. S. Reid has translated Cullmann's *Christus und die Zeit* for the Lutterworth Press. This should have been *Die ersten Christlicher Glaubensbekenntnisse*.

From My New Shelf

By C. RYDER SMITH

An Introduction to the Old Testament, by Theodore H. Robinson. (Edward Arnold & Co., 3s.)

Dr. Robinson goes his own way. For instance, he distributes his space as some would not; he speaks at times as if an opinion were certain which some experts would dispute; he leaves his readers for the most part to find their own Biblical references—with some hints to help them in a series of 'Questions for discussion'. But he is, of course, past master of his subject, as every chapter shows, and teachers in State schools, for whom his book is primarily meant, will be well equipped for their task if they read and ponder this book. There is no wonder that there has been a speedy demand for a reprint. (But the Revised Version of the *Old Testament* was not published in 1881.)

The Purpose of the Gospels, by Ernest F. Scott. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 12s. 6d.)

Why did four men set themselves to write Gospels in the second half of the First century? The usual answer has been that, as the eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus passed away, the Church needed a reliable record of the life of Jesus—but Dr. Scott is not content with this. He thinks that then, through the inroads of Docetism and Gnosticism, Jesus' 'life on earth for most believers was something that had to be explained away'. In different parts of the world four men saw the dire peril and set themselves to show, not only what the facts of Jesus' life were, but that Christianity depended upon their being *facts*. To use the summary of the last of them: 'The Word was made flesh.' Dr. Scott argues this thesis from several angles, and we are his debtors, for the same appeal to 'the facts' is very pertinent now. He shows, for instance, that, if 'John' invented stories of miracles as mere symbols of truth, he was untrue to his own fundamental claim. But under miracle one may ask him a question. If 'John' consistently heightens the miracles' and if 'in the Synoptic Gospels they can usually be explained without much difficulty, as due to natural causes' do not all four writers *fail* at this point to give us the facts? *Mutatis mutandis*, the same point can be taken about Apocalyptic, for Dr. Scott says that 'it can be demonstrated' that the Marcan Apocalypse, with its Synoptic parallels, is made up largely, not from sayings of Jesus, but from other sources. And what about the un-discussed Birth Stories? It will be seen that Dr. Scott has not finally grappled with his theme. Apart from these subjects, I find that in the margins of the book I have queried a score or so of particular statements. For instance: 'In its broad outline (John's Gospel) is modelled on (the others)'; '(Matthew) identifies (the Church) with the Kingdom'; '(Christ's work) has been the impelling force behind everything that men have thought and done for twenty centuries'. Or again, Dr. Scott says that the Evangelists 'describe (the life of Jesus) in all its detail', but, apart from miracles, how much detail is there between the Baptism and Palm Sunday? On the other side, for instance, Dr. Scott has a valuable discussion of the underlying truth in Apocalyptic. This is not a book for the general reader to accept, but for the experts to weigh—yet, being by E. F. Scott, it is of course well worth their weighing. It is clear that he holds that, when all has been said, the fundamental facts abide.

Authority in the Apostolic Age, by R. R. Williams. (S.C.M., 8s. 6d.)

The larger part of this book is a very useful survey of the present position on the subject of its title. It is very timely, for many of the present discussions within the Church run up into the doctrine of authority. Except that, under the authority of the Old Testament, almost nothing is said of the Judaistic Controversy (which concerned the authority of 'Moses'), the book covers all the ground. There is a specially valuable chapter to show that in the New Testament *exousia* is the sequel of *dunamis*. There are two 'additional essays', the first of which gives an account of the discussion of the doctrine of authority in England in the generation that followed 1870, and the other draws together the doctrine of authority—or rather of 'authorities'—as held today by a scholarly Evangelical Churchman. Though he does not say so, Principal Williams's book shows that while the authority of Christ—or rather, of the Triune God—is, of course, absolute and infallible, it is always mediated—through Apostles, Canon, Creed, Conscience, Ministers, and so on—and that none of these secondary 'authorities' is infallible.

Christian Belief, by Alec R. Vidler. (S.C.M., 10s. 6d.)

Here are the seven 'open lectures' that Dr. Vidler delivered to crowded gatherings at Cambridge. In them he claims that the Christian faith 'makes more sense of all the facts with which we have to reckon than any alternative set of convictions'—that is, he does not claim too much. He has the gift of selection—he chooses the right subjects, out of many things that he might say about them he says the right things, he faces the objections that matter just now. He has many an effective phrase—e.g. 'The worst of sceptics is that they are not sceptical enough'; 'It is a favourite work of the Holy Spirit to persuade (a man) that he is the last and the least and the lost'; 'Not chess, but war'. He prefers Forsyth to Barth and Dodd to Schweitzer, and on the Atonement he thinks that McLeod Campbell pointed the right way. His many notes show how ample his scholarship is. While some will not agree that, on his account of baptism, a man may be said to be 'born again' in it, on the whole he speaks for the scholars of today in all the Churches. And he 'speaks to the condition' of the time. For him the heart of religion is personal fellowship with Christ. The first two lectures are specially good.

The Significance of 1849, by E. C. Urwin. (The Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.)

In selecting his subject for last year's Wesley Historical Lecture Mr. Urwin remembered that it was the centenary year of the last and greatest Methodist schism. He shows that the subject can now be treated without reserve or partisanship, and he sets it in the context of the tumultuous 'forties. This is just as it should be.

The Valley of the Shadow, by Hanns Lilje, translated, with an introduction, by Olive Wyon. (S.C.M. Press, 7s. 6d.)

Cold, hunger, solitude, the glare of electric light when others sleep, the rack of interrogation hour after hour, 'the edge of death'—the monotonous list of the ways of the Gestapo is here again. Yet there is a difference. Hanns Lilje is a Christian and a Christian preacher. He had preached, not politics, but the Gospel, yet other Christians, belonging to one kind of resistance movement or another, found strength in his gospel—and the Gestapo knew that they did. So, at length, he was arrested. He not only tells of the terrors, but with the insight of an acute but charitable mind, tells what he thought of jailers and fellow-prisoners and so on. Dr. Wyon in her introduction gives brief accounts of the antecedents of his fellow-prisoners. One could

wish that she had also told us something of the life of Bishop Lilje himself before his arrest. But the true *differentia* of the book is still to name. Hanns Lilje is of the company of Christians who came out of the ordeals of the Gestapo better men than before. Miracles are still possible 'to him that believeth'.

Self-Harvest, a Study of Diaries and the Diarist, by P. A. Spalding. (Independent Press, 6s.)

This is a pleasant *causerie* on a branch of literature in which this country holds pre-eminence. Mr. Spalding gives a list of more than ninety English diaries that he has used, starting from 1551—but there is no index proper. The writer has a special liking for Parson Woodforde. His quotations are many and apt, and he makes a good many pertinent remarks of his own. He does not note that there were no true diarists so long as writing was a specialist's art. This would make a good 'bedside book'.

REPRINTS

The Founding of the Church Universal, by Hans Lietzmann, translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. (Lutterworth Press, 21s.)

This is the second volume of Lietzmann's well-known History of the Early Church. Dr. Lee Woolf's translation was first issued in 1938. He has now thoroughly revised it. There is no need to commend Lietzmann's work, for it long ago took a foremost place in histories of the Church.

A normative pattern of Church Life in the New Testament: fact or fancy?, by W. A. Davies. (J. Clarke & Co., 1s.)

In this reprint from *The Presbyterian*, Professor Davies usefully surveys the discussions of the last seventy years. With Hort and Streeter and T. W. Manson, he denies that in the New Testament there is a 'normative pattern' of 'order', but he adds an account of certain positive marks of the New Testament Church, including 'unity'.

An ABC of Psychology, by Eric S. Waterhouse. (The Epworth Press, 5s.)

Since this book was first issued it has been reprinted five times. Now Professor Waterhouse has revised it, taking account of the new work done in psychology in recent years. In the last chapter there is 'a sketch of the teaching methods of Jesus as a model of the teacher's art'. The book provides the 'little learning' that is a *helpful* thing.

John Wesley's Chapel, by Percy J. Boyling. (The Epworth Press, 1s. 6d.)

This booklet gives an account, not only of Wesley's Chapel, but of his House and the treasures of both. There is a profusion of illustrations and a map of Wesley's London. The booklet is rightly called 'fascinating'.

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

In the Joseph Smith Lecture for 1949 Professor H. H. Rowley, 'higher critic', states and defends his belief that *The Authority of the Bible* can be vindicated by an appeal to the fulfilment of prophecy *rightly defined*. For instance, Deutero-Isaiah foretold that the Gentiles would turn to the Lord through a Suffering Servant—and so they do. For a copy of the Lecture send sixteen pence to the Secretary, Overdale College,

Birmingham 29. . . . In *Landmarks in the History of Preaching* (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.), Bishop Yngve Brilioth traces the 'fascinating' story of the sermon through the Christian centuries, lingering a little on the greatest names and illuminating the whole theme. He holds that a true sermon should be 'exegetical' and 'prophetic' and congruous with the liturgy of the Service. . . . The heraldic crest of the Wesleys was a wyvern. So the Epworth Press has 'Wyvern Plays'. Of the four now issued three are based on Gospel stories—*Thrice I denied Him*, by H. Austin Fairhurst (1s.); *Mary of Bethany*, by Maud E. Reed (1s. 6d.); and *He came to a Village*, by Shirley St. Clair (1s. 6d.). The fourth is *The Late Mr. Wesley, a Phantasy*, by F. H. Everson (1s.). . . . In *How shall I Begin?* (A. H. Stockwell, Ilfracombe), Clifford Bozeat gives practical hints and aids to those who are just commencing to speak for Christ either in the pulpit or elsewhere. . . . In *Jesus Growing Up* (The Epworth Press, 1s.) Reginald Glanville shows Primary Teachers how to make a model of Jesus' home at Nazareth, and then takes Him into the village and countryside. There are also three 'dramatized episodes'. In this realm Mr. Glanville has rare skill (but is he quite right about the oven?). . . . 'Our people need teaching' is a constant cry. Well, in reply the Epworth Press is issuing a series of three-ha'penny leaflets entitled 'Pharos Papers'. The first eight are *The Grace of God*, by Harold S. Darby; *Christian Conversion*, by H. Cecil Pawson; *What is Sin?*, by W. Lawson Jones; *Prayer*, by John Crowlesmith; *Holiness*, by W. E. Sangster; *Evil in the Modern World*, by Thomas Goodall; *Immortality*, by Ronald V. Spivey; and *Assurance*, by Maldwyn Edwards. . . . The high art of extemporary prayer is far too precious to neglect. *Our Heritage of Free Prayer* (Independent Press, 9d.), a pamphlet 'prepared for the Congregational Union', ably opens the whole subject. . . . 'Mr. Shanklin the Shaver,' 'The Smily Wiley,' 'Ting, Tang, and Tung'. These are three of Edward Fittall's titles in his nineteen *Turnup Tales* (The Epworth Press, 5s.). And the tales are as good as the titles, and the sketches as good as the tales. . . .

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

- Scottish Journal of Theology*, March. (Oliver & Boyd, 3s. 6d.)
 The Theology of Luther's Lectures on Romans, —I., by A. Skevington Wood.
 Recent Trends in Anglican Evangelical Theology, by M. A. C. Warren.
 Universalism and Morals, by H. Gresford Jones.
 Amsterdam and the Church's Former Teaching on Social Order, by Stewart Mechie.
- The Journal of Religion*, January. (University of Chicago Press, via Cambridge Press, \$1.85.)
 Time, Eternity, and History, by Roger Hazelton.
 Protestantism and Social Philosophy, by Robert Clemmer.
 Christian Theology and Juristic Thought, by Samuel Enoch Stumpf.
- The Journal of Theological Studies*, April. (Oxford Press, 12s.)
 The Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel, by C. K. Barrett.
 The Semitisms of the Acts, by H. F. D. Sparks.
 Sanctuary and Sacrifice in the New Testament Church, by C. F. D. Moule.
 The First Systematic Exposition of the Doctrine of the Trinity (Victorinus), by Paul Henry.
 The Relationship between First Peter and Ephesians, by C. L. Mitton.
- The Expository Times*, March. (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 3d.)
 The Holy Spirit and Man, by Philip S. Watson.
 The Preacher and his Greek New Testament, by R. M. L. Waugh.
- do., April.
 Theological Issues involved in Baptism, by J. K. S. Reid.
 Marx on Man, by Edward Rogers.
- do., May.
 The Evidence for the Belief that our Lord Himself claimed to be Divine, by A. W. Argyle.
 The Second Coming of Christ, by S. P. T. Prideaux.

- Rylands Library Bulletin*, March. (Manchester University Press, 7s. 6d.)
 The 'Son of Man' in Daniel, Enoch, and the Gospels, by T. W. Manson.
 (Archaeological) History and the Word of God in the Old Testament, by Martin Noth.
- The Review and Expositor*, a Baptist Theological Quarterly. (Louisville, Kentucky, via Kingsgate Press, 60 cents.)
 Present Theological Trends, by Dale Moody.
 The Ethics of Albert Schweitzer, by Guy H. Ranson.
 A Colonial Parson's Wife (Mrs. Jonathan Edwards), by Ethel Wallace.
- Theology Today*, April. (Princeton, via B. H. Blackwell, 48, Broad St., Oxford, 3s. 6d.)
 The Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and Christian Living, by W. Burnet Easton, Jr.
 The Eastern Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement, by George Florovsky.
 The Christian Church under Non-Christian Rulers, by Gilbert Baker.
- The Hibbert Journal*, April. (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.)
 How the Roman Church makes Converts (especially in America), by H. L. Stewart.
 The Present Status of Telepathy, by S. G. Soal.
 Meditation on Berdyaev's 'Three Times', by E. M. Rowell.
 The Erasmian Idea, by Wilhelm Schenk.
 The Relevance of Pascal, by Harold Knight.
- The International Review of Missions*, April. (Edinburgh House, 3s. 6d.)
 The Meaning and the Purpose of the Christian Mission, by W. Freytag.
 The Call to Evangelism, by J. C. Hoekendijk.
 Judaism on Old and New Paths, by Leo Baeck.
 The Ecumenical Spirit and the (Roman Catholic) Missionary, by Maurice Villain.
 International Christian University (in Japan), by Ralph E. Diffendorfer.
- The Congregational Quarterly*, April. (Independent Press, 3s. 6d.)
 Common Prayer, by the late Bernard Manning.
 The New Orthodoxy and the Contemporary Mood, by E. L. Allen.
 Colin and Perigot—a Poem, by Nathaniel Micklem.
 The Analogy of the 'Other Mind' ('I and Thou'), by J. R. Jones.
- The Baptist Quarterly*, April (Carey-Kingsgate Press, 5s.)
 Roger Williams, by J. Allen Moore.
 Service for the Young—a Review, by T. C. Dunning.
- The Yale Review*, Spring. (Yale University Press, via Oxford Press, \$1.50.)
 Peronist Crisis (in Argentine), by Allison W. Bunkley.
 The Danger of Innocence: Adam as Hero in American Literature, by R. W. B. Lewis.
 Communism and the Asiatic Mind, by Emanuel Sarkisyanz.
 Variations on a Theme by Conrad, by Wallace Stegner.
- Studies in Philology*, January, 1950. (The University of North Carolina Press, via Cambridge Press, \$1.25.)
 Femininity in the *Lais* of Marie de France, by William S. Woods.
 The Fraternity of Drinkers, by Rossell Hope Robbins.
 Holinshad's Leir Story and Shakespeare's by Robert Adger Law.
 The *Fables* of Fénelon and Philips' *Free-Thinker*, by Nicholas Joost.
 Discontinuity in Literary Development: the Case of English Romanticism, by Raymond D. Havens.
- View-Review* is a small quarterly launched in February (S.P.C.K.). It is a 'guide to the means' of the 'education' of Christians, including the clergy. It is Anglican, but not merely Anglican.
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